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## ART. I.—THE SOUTH AMERICAN REPUBLICS.

ONE after another, as the Spanish American States achieved their independence, they adopted by general consent a representative form of government. Although differing widely from each other in their constitutional provisions as well as in the practical administration of their respective governments, the feeling of a common ancestry and the sympathy of a kindred struggle have induced them to adopt in their mutual intercourse the friendly title of "*las hermanas republicas*," the Sister Republics. It would be well for them had this epithet conveyed the same idea of social endearment and mutual harmony that a similar term implies as used in our Republic in reference to the Union of the States. But unfortunately this is not the case. The region of earthquakes is not less morally than physically the natural soil of commotion. Civil dissensions, often recurring, have shaken to their foundations the fabric of society, opening wide the chasms through which infidelity, immorality, and crime have found vent, and reducing organized institutions to a condition of chaos which seems to defy the wisest statesmanship to reconstruct. Foreign wars have served to occupy the tedious intervals of domestic tranquillity, and to foster that military spirit which thus far has proved the ruin to some and the bane to all of the South American States. Invasion and conquest have been the means resorted to in some signal instances as the only mode of preserving internal peace, but more often they have sprung from the ambition of partisan chieftains, whose sole aim was to secure or to perpetuate their dominion. The nat-

ural result of this unsettled condition of affairs has shown itself in the predominance of the military element in the State. There is not at this moment a single chief magistrate in Spanish America without the prefix of "General" to his name, or who has not distinguished himself in some way by deeds of blood. Tactics, not statesmanship, has been the road to political preferment. He who would seek the cabinet, must reach it through the camp. A thirst for military renown has thus become interwoven alike in the social and political systems of these countries, and his ambition will soonest attain its end who can most successfully appeal to the passions and arouse the martial spirit of the people.

The danger of habitually intrusting a State to the guidance of military chiefs is a recognized principle in civil polity, and in South America we have seen its legitimate results. We do not mean to intimate that civil preferment should never be the reward of military achievement, although as a general thing we believe that success in the latter is rarely united with the requisite qualities for the former. Eminent services in the field may sometimes be thus acknowledged by a grateful people, and the act prove beneficial to the State. To place a distinguished soldier under the ban of proscription by denying his right to civil attainment, because he has rendered important services in arms, would be a species of injustice akin to that which banished Aristides because of his pre-eminent virtues, and would display a narrowness of soul equivalent to that of the ignorant Athenian who assigned as a reason for the ostracism, that he was tired of hearing him called "the Just." The example of the Father of his Country proves that military genius may be united with the highest attributes of statesmanship; but we should remember also that it has been written, with as much of truth as of poetry in the language, that

"He, the first, the last, the best,  
The Cincinnatus of the West,  
Bequeathed the name of Washington,  
To make man blush there was but one."

Even the hero of Colombia, whose prowess in arms secured the independence of his country, and whose wisdom and patriotism won for him the title of "the Washington of the South," failed in the end to curb an ambition which had already attained the summit of human endeavor, and by errors of administration which even the eye of envy cannot discern in the career of his great prototype, saddened the hearts



of his warmest supporters, and somewhat tarnished the illustrious name of Bolivar.

We propose as the object of this article to pass in review the several South American States, in order to obtain some idea of the moral atmosphere by which they are surrounded, and thus the better to understand the peculiarities of their position. In this sketch we shall confine ourselves principally to a glance at the governments, as being the prominent point of difference between them. While the administration of the Guianas is colonial, and that of Brazil an imperial monarchy, the Spanish States, all claiming to be Republics, differ as widely from each other as from the former.

Uruguay has for many years contained two distinct governments within its narrow limits. European intervention has long sustained the mal-contents of the capital in arms against the best interests of the country; and for a dozen years, with varied success, depending more upon the fluctuations of foreign cabinets, than on the open contest of arms, the national party under Oribe have held Montevideo in a state of siege.

As this country furnished the occasion for European interference and the beginning of the long-disputed and still undecided "river question," respecting the navigation of the La Plata, a brief notice of the steps which led to this state of things may here be appropriate. Uruguay originally pertained to Brazil, but when in 1816 La Plata declared her independence of Spain, it formed one of the United Provinces of that confederacy. In 1825 there ensued a war between Brazil and La Plata for the possession of Uruguay, which, after three years, resulted in the independence of that Province, acknowledged by both the belligerent parties, recognized by all the world, and especially guaranteed by France and England. In 1830, a Constitution was adopted, under which Riviera was chosen President for four years, and at the expiration of his term he was succeeded by Oribe. Riviera returned to his military command, from which, for some misconduct, Oribe removed him. Upon this he raised a rebellion, and by the aid of some French residents compelled Oribe to resign his post about four months before the expiration of his term. Oribe fled to Buenos Ayres, and at the end of three months made a formal protest against the causes which had obliged him to resign. His error consisted in not making the protest at the moment of resigning, since its validity could not then have been questioned, and he would have

been exempt from the suspicion of having acted in it under the advice or dictation of Rosas,—charges which are now freely and with much plausibility and effect brought against him by his enemies. Had he done so, his legal claim to the Presidency for the extent of his unexpired term would still have been unquestionable. During his exile he was employed under Rosas in suppressing revolts in La Plata, and then returned to Uruguay with an Argentine army to recover his lost position. The native Uruguayans, for the most part, joined his standard and drove out Riviera, then for the second time President. At this point the European powers formally interfered, under pretense that as guarantors of the independence of Uruguay they have a right to prevent Rosas, as they say, from forcing Oribe upon the country as President. The acting President is Saurez, elected as Vice President under Riviera, and by the Constitution retaining office till a new election, which cannot be held before there is peace; and as his is the government *de facto* of the capital, it is recognized by all foreign powers.

There is no doubt that, could Oribe send back his Argentine troops, the city of Montevideo, as well as the whole country, would receive him. There are but few of the natives who are not in his favor. Montevideo is at this time almost entirely foreign—a French colony in fact—and sustained by the combined forces of France and England. This, and two small ports held by the French, are the only places not in possession of the national party. The Uruguayan portion of Oribe's army is much larger than that of his Argentine allies; and it is only the presence of these latter, which unfortunately he cannot now dismiss, that enables the Europeans to retain the capital upon the pretense which led to their first interference.

While the central point of the State has thus existed under martial law, the provinces have been exposed to the exigencies and the vicissitudes of war. It has had no civil government which can be classed under any known character, but has been subjected on one side to the insults and impositions of foreign mercenaries, and on the other, to the tender mercies of a horde of half-civilized gauchos. This Republic therefore, in both its divisions, has been controlled by a purely military government.

The Argentine Confederation, composed originally of thirteen States known as the United Provinces of La Plata, and each claiming to be sovereign in its character, has become practi-

cally consolidated and merged in the preponderating influence of Buenos Ayres. Soon after the organization of these States, it was agreed among them that Buenos Ayres, being the only one possessed of a seaport, and enjoying an extensive commerce with other countries, should have charge of the foreign relations of all the United Provinces. Although this single bond was the only one which distinguished the thirteen parties to it from being distinct and separate States, feebly united by a treaty of alliance dictated by the accidents of interest and position, yet the surrender of this one attribute of sovereignty ultimately compromised their independence and forfeited their freedom.

From the beginning there had naturally been two parties among them: one in favor of a united or central government, which should be efficient in itself, making the country respected abroad and prosperous at home, and having in view the United States of North America as a model; the other contending for the absolute sovereignty of each province as a distinct nation, whose only relation to the others should be that of friendly alliance. The principles of the two parties are exemplified, as nearly as the circumstances will admit of a parallel, by the United States, as she is under the Constitution, and as she was under the Confederation. The former party, known by the name of Unitarios, embraced the more substantial portion of the people, the educated, the enterprising, and the wealthy. The other faction, called Federales, possessed the superiority of numbers, with enough of talent and social respectability in its leaders to render it a dangerous rival, and to secure its ascendancy in the country. The arrangement which had been made between Buenos Ayres and the other States soon gave a controlling influence to that Province. As she arose in the scale of importance, the other members of the confederacy rapidly declined. There was only wanting a leader of sufficient genius to control and energy to act in this crisis, in order to complete the subjugation of the whole country to the despotic will of one man. Such a leader appeared in the person of the celebrated Juan Manuel Rosas. Ostensibly the chief of the Federales, his policy has been more centralizing than any ever advocated by the Unitarian party. Impeded in the execution of his ambitious projects by the organized opposition of the Unitarios, he exercised against them every instrument of cruelty and oppression which an armed faction and an obsequious legislature placed in his power.

Assassination, confiscation, imprisonment, and banishment



were the attendants and the result of the fearful civil commotion which preceded the triumph of Rosas. That triumph was bloody and complete. It left the Provinces of La Plata entirely under his control, as well in their internal affairs as in their foreign relations. Although the Federal policy is still nominally maintained, and the forms of distinct sovereignty are scrupulously adhered to, the Governors of the Provinces are all the partisans of Rosas, and the elections are merely *pro forma* exponents of the popular will. The "recommendation" of the Governor of Buenos Ayres carries with it the force of an imperial mandate. Beyond the capital, the terror of his name seems to increase with the distance, until in the remotest provinces, at the base of the Andes, the government and the people appear to "out-Herod Herod," and become more Rosista than Rosas himself. The exciting scenes through which the country has passed, decimated by civil war, and deprived of so many of its noblest citizens by the insatiate spirit of revenge which actuated the triumphant faction long after the supremacy of Rosas was conceded by his enemies, have produced the results which might be expected from the character of the contest. Wearied of anarchy and bloodshed, La Plata has sunk into the calm of despotism.

The admirers of Rosas have pleaded in defense of his cruelty the necessities of the times; that had he not summarily disposed of the Unitarian chiefs, they would have found means of avenging themselves upon his life. The sanguinary nature of the Spanish Americans makes it probable that such would have been the case, and in some degree justifies his conduct. The subsequent administration of Rosas has attracted the attention of statesmen and won the respect of the Western world, at least by the firmness with which he has opposed the European intervention.

Refusing to acknowledge any right on the part of France or England to interfere in the affairs of La Plata, he has practically announced and sustained the famous Monroe doctrine against the combined forces of the two most formidable powers in Europe. The schemes of diplomacy, the effort of threats, and the trial of arms have all failed to subdue the intensely American spirit which scorns to yield a point at the instance of European dictation. Diplomacy he has met with its own weapons. Talleyrand himself might be at fault before the ability and the cunning of Rosas. To force he has opposed force with varied success, although the guerilla warfare of South America is no match for the disciplined soldiery of Europe. But Rosas knows well enough that the nature of



the country, and the vast expense of maintaining a large army at so great a distance from home, are certain guarantees against a serious invasion. Threats and actual blockade are rather ridiculed than feared by the people whose quiet perseverance has already worn out many a blockading squadron. The moral courage displayed by Rosas in this protracted resistance to foreign encroachment, in the face of so formidable a coalition, challenges our admiration, and would secure our respect, could we divest our minds of the remembrance of scenes which bespeak the ferocious spirit of his government.

Over every public office, from the Policia to the custom-house, and from the barracks to the House of Assembly, is inscribed in flaming characters this remarkable motto :

“Viva la Federacion Argentina!  
Meuran los salvajes Unitarios!”

Long live the Argentine Confederation! Death to the savage Unitarians!!

Every official document, from a passport to a published law, is introduced by the same atrocious language. Every employé of the government, from a custom-house porter to a cabinet minister, wears the “divisa,” a red ribbon, either in the button-hole or as a hatband, inscribed with the same words, or varied sometimes in the first clause by substituting the terms “Vivan los Federales,” a more appropriate shibboleth, because indicative of the partisan bitterness that has supplanted the patriotism which the usual motto might imply. Even a red waistcoat is considered a mark of loyalty, while a blue one (the color of the national standard, and as such adopted by the Unitarios) would subject its wearer to the risk of personal violence. It is superfluous to multiply examples of this sort, which are matters of daily observation in La Plata, and which, viewed in connection with what is before written, proves that, by whatever name it may be called, the government of the Argentine Republic, from the frontier of Bolivia to Cape Horn, and from the Andes to the Atlantic, is an absolute despotism.

Paraguay, originally one of the thirteen Provinces, and still claimed by Buenos Ayres as a constituent member of the Confederacy, although she has maintained her independence for many years, has never been acknowledged as a sovereign State by any foreign power, except Brazil. Overtures have several times been made by that Province to the Governments of England, France, and the United States, for the

recognition of her independence, but thus far without success. The firmness of Rosas has presented an insuperable obstacle to the fulfilment of this design. An attempt was made a few years since by a flotilla of the allied powers to force a passage up the Parana river, and open a communication with Asuncion. A sanguinary engagement between the European forces and the troops of Buenos Ayres ensued. The former prevailed, and for a few weeks the navigation of the river was unimpeded. But it was found impracticable to continue a communication which could only be maintained by perpetual bloodshed, and at the expense of supporting an armed force in a sickly and hostile country. The project was abandoned, and whether it will ever be renewed, is a question depending more upon the impulses which national vanity may give to the defeated parties, than on any very important commercial or political advantages which are likely to ensue from diplomatic intercourse.

Yerba, a variety of ilex, from which the celebrated Paraguay tea is made, and a light and delicate species of tobacco, much esteemed in South America, form the principal commerce of the country. The former is not likely to be generally introduced elsewhere, and indeed is already giving place to the Chinese plant, which is now successfully cultivated in the interior of Brazil; while the latter is very superior to the tobacco of the West Indies or of Florida. The people are a simple, ignorant, and inoffensive race, retaining to this day much of the character given them by Charlevoix and the other Jesuit missionaries two centuries ago. They are Indians, with scarcely an admixture of Spanish blood, and speak the Guarana language. The Spanish tongue is but little known among them, except by those immediately connected with the government. The secluded position of the country and the mild and harmless nature of the people have operated most unfortunately for their political prosperity. They have presented facilities which have tempted the ambition of the veriest monsters who have ever disgraced humanity by their crimes. The career of Dr. Francia, the dictator of Paraguay, is familiar to many of our readers, but it is not so generally known that the mantle of his vices, as well as his office, has descended to his successor, Lopez, the present nominal President of that country. A more than Japanese rigor of non-intercourse, reviving the system of Francia, has been maintained by Lopez since the failure of the attempt by the allied powers to open the passage of the Parana.

Personally recommended to Lopez by letters from the Brazilian cabinet, and strengthened by assurances from the Government of Buenos Ayres that the forts of the Parana should be opened to allow his safe conduct down the river upon leaving Asuncion, the writer of this article commenced the long and arduous journey through the interior of Brazil, with the intention of exploring the unknown regions of Paraguay. Before proceeding very far, he learned that at the pass of Candelaria, the entrance to Paraguay, he would be obliged either to wait until his letters were forwarded to the capital, and permission to enter the country was received in reply or denied, as the case might be, or to proceed at once, without previously informing the Government, and go on to Asuncion at the risk of incurring the fate of Bonpland. The certainty of great delay and the probability of involuntary detention more than counterbalanced the prospective enjoyment or advantages of the expedition, and it was abandoned. Subsequent information proved that this was a fortunate decision. Some months prior to this, the United States Consul at Buenos Ayres had been dispatched by our Government on a special mission to ascertain and report on the expediency of acknowledging the independence of Paraguay. He was stopped at the frontier and rudely delayed several weeks, while that Government attempted to ascertain whether he had brought with him the coveted recognition, or was only sent to examine the country. The laws of international courtesy were thus violated at the outset by this remote and insignificant people, and the Consul returned in disgust from his ineffectual mission. It is believed that but one American has hitherto succeeded in visiting that country and spending several months in the capital under peculiar advantages. He was sent in a semi-official capacity a few years ago, prior to the second attempt of the United States above mentioned, and was received with great consideration. Unfortunately he transcended his powers, which were not diplomatic, and promised Lopez that the United States should acknowledge the independence of Paraguay. The non-fulfilment by our Government of this unauthorized pledge has exasperated the people, or rather the President of that country, and caused the indiscreet rebuff of our second messenger, and more strict measures of non-intercourse towards all American citizens who may seek to enter Paraguay. It may account also for the mysterious disappearance of the same gentleman, who, more than a year since, went on a second expedition to that country, this time on a private



adventure, and who was last heard from as having left his baggage at San Borgia and proceeded on alone to Asuncion, with the intention of returning or sending back for his goods. By recent advices from Brazil, we learn that many months had already elapsed, and nothing had yet been seen or heard from him at San Borgia.

The purpose of Brazil, in establishing diplomatic relations with Paraguay, is sufficiently obvious, when we consider the hostility which has always existed between the Imperial Government and that of Buenos Ayres, while the contiguity of territory removes the only obstacle which has hitherto prevented France and England from adopting the same course through similar motives. The settled policy of the United States, not to embroil herself with a friendly power by recognizing the independence of any revolted province, until indisputable evidence has been presented that the seceding party is capable of preserving that independence, renders it impolitic, if not improper, that such a course should be taken with regard to Paraguay.

That the armies of Rosas are competent to reduce that country to its original subjection to the Confederation, is evident from the result of the attempt made in 1847 by the adjoining and more powerful province of Corrientes to secure her independence of Buenos Ayres. In fact, it is to her isolation and her insignificance that Paraguay owes the existence of any claim to distinct nationality. The more important concerns of the Government requiring all her military strength to oppose the European forces in Uruguay, to suppress revolt in other portions of the country, and to repel continual incursions of hostile tribes of Indians in exposed districts of the interior, have hitherto prevented the troops of the Confederacy from acting against this remote province. Thus for a long term of years Paraguay has continued to preserve a certain form of independence, and has been subjected to the yoke of a domestic tyrant, more galling because more near, in exchange for the distant despotism of the Governor of Buenos Ayres. But Rosas has never relinquished the intention of ultimate invasion, and habitually speaks of Paraguay as an integral member of the Confederation; and in this view he considers the recognition of her independence by foreign powers as an infraction of treaties, a wilful severance of friendly relations, and a justifiable cause of war. The affairs of Paraguay will doubtless remain in this uncertain condition until "the river question" is definitely settled between Rosas and the European powers. Should this event speedily trans-



pire, as recent intelligence from that quarter would seem to indicate, we may expect, unless some unforeseen change occurs, a simultaneous invasion of Paraguay and declaration of war with Brazil. Meanwhile the government of Paraguay remains under the administration of Lopez, practically what it was under that of Francia—a supreme dictatorship.

Adjoining this State on the northwest, and occupying a vast region in the interior of South America, is the Republic of Bolivia. Having but a limited line of sea-coast on the Pacific, scarcely three hundred miles, and that possessing no good harbor, and but a single small port, to which the only mode of approach is across stupendous mountains and over a fearful desert of great extent, the free navigation of the Parana is of equal value to that country as to Paraguay, and of far more importance to the commercial world. Three large rivers, the Vermejo, Palaya and Pilcomayo, draining the southern portion of Bolivia, flow into the Parana, and thus form a natural outlet in this direction for the valuable products of the country. Perhaps no region on earth produces a greater amount and variety of commercial staples than this. Its vegetable productions comprise almost every sort of aromatic substance, and a larger proportion of articles known in the materia medica than any other country affords. The rankness of tropical vegetation matures in the hot valleys of the interior with a luxuriance that a vertical sun acting upon a rich and well-watered soil only can produce. Poisons and their antidotes, herbs and spices of every name, fruits and flowers unknown elsewhere, abound in the primeval forests of central Bolivia, and, to be made accessible to the world in untold abundance, require only that the tributaries of the Amazon and the Parana be rendered subservient to the purposes for which Nature intended them. The mountainous and sterile districts of the west are teeming with precious metals, silver, copper and gold, to a degree that has made the mines of Potosi a proverb, and is only equalled by the wonderful richness of California. The only outlets on the west are by the port of Cobija, a twelve days' journey across the desert of Atacama from Potosi, and from La Paz over the Andes, through a foreign jurisdiction, to the Peruvian port of Arica. The former is the route taken by the caravans with silver and copper from the adjacent districts; the latter is the nearest point of egress from the gold mines, and being more accessible to the great interior province of Moxos, the

medical garden of the world, is also made the point of embarkation for the vegetable wealth of Bolivia. But the immense distance, the dangers and hardships of a journey without ordinary facilities of communication across some of the loftiest mountain ranges in the world, united with the disturbed condition of the country, are obstacles too formidable to be overcome to any great extent. The exports from this quarter are therefore uncertain and limited. The only remaining outlet is by Matto Grosso on the frontier of Brazil, and involves a journey of nearly two thirds the breadth of the continent. Frequent convoys leave this place for Rio Janeiro, and occupy from four to six months in the transit, conveying the merchandise on mules, and on rafts where the numerous streams on the route will admit. The continual and wearisome delays make it too expensive both in money and time for a profitable commerce; yet it is at present the only practicable outlet for the eastern portions of Bolivia, and from the comparative ease of the travel is often selected in preference to the Pacific route, by the inhabitants of the central provinces. Almost the whole of Bolivia east of the Andes is watered by the tributaries of the Amazon; but the greater distance and the savage character of the tribes through whose territory they flow in the interior of Brazil, render them less available for purposes of commerce than the streams before mentioned would be, if the free navigation of the Parana were secured. The policy which dictates this restriction for the purpose of retaining a revolted province, and annoying the parties to an arrogant foreign intervention, although it may succeed in its object, is at the same time inflicting an injury on the prosperity of La Plata, by preventing Buenos Ayres from becoming what it otherwise might be, the centre of commerce for the fairest and wealthiest region of South America.

Had Bolivia secured to herself the degree of influence and respectability as a government which most of the sister Republics have done, notwithstanding their frequent dissensions, and to which her advantages by nature entitle her, it is not improbable that this desirable object would have been already attained by efficient negotiation with the Government of Buenos Ayres. But the spirit of discontent and the love of domestic turmoil which seem indigenous to Spanish America, have operated with more fatal effect in this unhappy Republic than in any other portion of the continent. Its entire separation from intercourse with distant countries, and the fact that even those portions of the neighboring States

which are contiguous to its frontiers are either unpeopled wastes or inhabited only by independent tribes of savages, thus freeing it from one of the most fruitful sources of contention, would lead us to suppose that the experiment of self-government might here meet with greater success than any where else. One of the principal causes of commotion in the other States, of which we have spoken, arises from their foreign relations. But Bolivia, as we have seen, has no foreign relations. She maintains a *Chargé d'Affaires* in but a few of the sister Republics, and until within three years no minister from beyond the seas had ever resided in Chuquisaca. At that time England and the United States sent *Chargés* to that country, but rather with a view to what might be required in the future, than for any present purpose which their negotiations can subserve. Thus isolated, as if it were for the express object of making the country prosperous and united by preserving it from the sources of peril which involved the other States, Bolivia commenced her career as a separate Republic under more favorable auspices than any of her sisters. But her term of tranquillity was brief. Civil wars, fomented by the ambition of rival chiefs, have distracted the country almost without cessation. Revolution has followed revolution in such rapid succession, and for the most part involving so little of principle, that the detail would be tedious and revolting. The attempt of Santa Cruz to erect a new State out of the adjacent portions of Peru and Bolivia, which should possess a good extent of sea-coast with convenient harbors, was the source of the most formidable of these convulsions. Had it succeeded, the commercial world would have profited by the movement, and Bolivia would have been in no worse a situation than she now is. The plan failed, and its author fled. This source of commotion being removed, the country was soon again distracted by the contending parties of Ballivian and Belzu. Thus by interminable feuds the commercial prosperity of the State has been sacrificed, and its political importance reduced to the lowest scale. Anarchy is the only term which conveys an idea of the condition of government in Bolivia.

The experiment of self-government, which is being tried by all the Spanish American States, has nowhere among them been attended with so much success as in the Republic of Chile. Although all these States profess to adopt republican principles, their internal economy is extremely varied, and the result of their efforts is by no means the same. The



constant revolutions which have occurred in different portions of South America since the final overthrow of Spanish power in 1824, have cast a stigma indiscriminately, and therefore unjustly, over all these States. The odium of failure in the establishment of representative government may properly apply to the larger portion of them, but not to every one. Chile and New-Granada are distinguished exceptions, upon which the eye of a North American may rest with pleasure, after being pained at beholding the anarchy and misrule which distract so many of the sister Republics. In every point of view Chile is the most advanced of the South American States. It is the only one of them all which has not been the theatre of repeated revolutions since the establishment of its independence. For twenty years Chile has enjoyed uninterrupted internal tranquillity, and has been rapidly advancing in prosperity and power. It has deserved the appellation which its people have received, as the English of South America.

One evidence of the advanced condition of Chile is, that it is almost the only one of those States where political parties are divided upon fixed principles. Even in Chile this is but partially the case. Persons, not principles, form the nucleus of party every where else, and although not to the same degree, yet still too much so in Chile also. This alone would account for the unhappy state of those countries, for ever distracted by the rival claims of chiefs and statesmen. Where something like parties organized upon principles have existed, they have been but temporary, and generally on a single point of policy, in which the priesthood have often had a large share. The question of the expulsion of the Jesuits, the same which nearly a century ago agitated all Europe, has been among the most prominent of these, and quite recently threatened to involve New-Granada in civil war. But any thing like national bases of party will be looked for in vain out of Chile, and have not assumed a very decided aspect even there.

Many causes have contributed to the superior success of the Chilenos. One of these we believe to be a diversity in the origin of the early settlers of the country from those who peopled other portions of the southern continent. Much of the best blood of Chile is derived from Biscay and the mountainous provinces of northwestern Spain, which, with Catalonia, furnish the most vigorous and enterprising of the many races who compose that heterogeneous country. It has also received a considerable admixture of foreign blood from the central and northern portions of Europe. An extensive Ger-



man emigration many years ago contributed to develop the resources of the southern provinces of the Republic, and, encouraged by the Government on a liberal scale, is being continued at the present time.

The great natural advantages which Chile possesses form another prominent source of its prosperity. They are superior in many points, indeed in almost all, to those of any other State. With an immense length of territory, extending from the tropic of Capricorn to Cape Horn, the main land embraces all between the desert of Atacama and the island of Chiloe, and is unsurpassed for the equability of its temperature and the salubrity of its climate. The summer suns of the north are tempered by the breezes from the snowy Andes, and the winter chills of the south are softened by the mild air of the Pacific. The soil on its broad tablelands and in the narrow gorges of the Andes is for the most part extremely fertile, producing the luxuriance without the rankness of tropical vegetation. Many of the most desirable fruits of the tropics, with all the productions of the temperate zone in either hemisphere, are spontaneous in their growth, or require but little cultivation. With less of the spicy and the medical treasures of Bolivia, it has a good supply of these, while the variations of its latitude supply a vast variety of the more generally useful articles of consumption which the equatorial regions cannot produce. The domestic animals are found in an unusual degree of excellence. The horses of Chile are probably the purest descendants of the ancient Spanish steeds to be found in the world. Its cattle and sheep are unsurpassed. Its wild animals are all of a useful and harmless character. No beasts of prey are found in the country; and what is more singular than all, no poisonous reptiles or venomous insects are known in this favored land. The mineral wealth of Chile is unbounded, and probably has yet been but partially developed. The amount of copper appears inexhaustible. Gold and silver, tin and lead are all mined to a considerable extent; while other mineral substances, iron, coal, sulphur, mercury, costly marbles, and even gems, have been discovered, and need only the labor of an increased population to furnish new sources of wealth.

Such, in brief, are the wonderful advantages which Nature has bestowed upon Chile, and which its enterprising people have by no means abused. They are physically a somewhat superior race to that of many of the other States. The men are rather taller and more robust; the women are finely

formed, with the full figure which bespeaks health and vigor, and with countenances in which the beauty of intellect is blended with that of passion. Mentally and morally, the Chilenos are much in advance of their South American contemporaries.

Their enterprise is manifested in the zeal with which they have sought to avail themselves at once of the many appliances within their control, and their energy is displayed in the success of their efforts. Their local position gives them command of the ocean, but almost insurmountable natural barriers, a vast desert on the north and stupendous Andes on the east, limit their territorial possessions to a narrow line of coast. Still, overleaping these, they claim the sterile mainland of Patagonia,—an appanage of the ancient viceroyalty of La Plata, and as such claimed by the Buenos Ayrean Government,—and on the other side seaward extend their vision, looking forward to the time when Chile shall be mistress of the South Pacific.

Their internal organization is admirably adapted to increase and concentrate the elements of power which may ultimately subserve the purposes of national ambition, or may make Chile, in the wisdom of its system and the prosperity of its people, a worthy model in all that respects stability, order, and national greatness. We shall endeavor to give an idea, as rapidly as may be, of the prominent points of their civil economy.

Their system of education is unrivalled for the comprehensiveness of its course and the universality of its dissemination. No other State out of New-England, not even Prussia, equals it in the perfection of its details, or in the minute subdivisions by which it is brought within the reach of every inhabitant of the Republic. The Government have it in special charge, making ample annual appropriations for its support, and requiring even the common rights of citizenship as well as the honors of office to be contingent upon its acquisition, in some degree.

Another prominent cause of the superior success of the Chilenos is found in the conservative character of their Constitution. This limits the active citizens to a comparatively small portion of the population. No man is allowed to vote under twenty-five years of age, except he be married, in which case he has the right at twenty-one; he must also know how to read and write, and must possess property of some sort, or a fixed trade or occupation yielding a certain income, and his name must be duly registered. The number

who come within these conditions is liable to be diminished by certain contingencies which suspend for the time being the right of suffrage : these are, the being domestic servants, debtors to the State, paupers, or under indictment for crime. There are also some circumstances which involve the permanent loss of citizenship. Restrictions like these, although severe in some points, are not to be condemned by us who live in a land where fewer of them are required. Their value to the prosperity of Chile is best seen in the contrast which she exhibits to some of the sister Republics, which have established more nearly a pure democracy than exists any where out of South America. None of these States are fitted for any form of representative government, which does not assimilate to an oligarchy. They have a large Indian population, and a still larger proportion of mixed Indian or negro and white blood. The former are mostly in a wild state, and unacquainted even with the Spanish language. The latter class, being the majority, are generally ignorant and unfitted to discharge the responsibilities of freemen. The pure white race, whether of Spanish or foreign descent, form but a small minority, although in Chile the proportion of these is greater than in most of the other States. But the school system is doing more to enlarge the suffrage in the right direction, by increasing the number of those who, under the Constitution, are entitled to that privilege, than any legislative enactment could with safety effect. The naturalization laws are more wisely regulated and far better enforced than with us. A foreigner must file a certificate of intention, and if single, must reside ten years in the country after this notice ; but if married and bringing his family, six years suffice ; and if his wife be a native of Chile, three years' residence will entitle him to citizenship. No other evidence but this, which cannot be forestalled, is received. There is therefore no occasion for perjury, and no opportunity for those disgraceful scenes which at contested elections in this country vitiate the suffrage and set at defiance the laws of the United States.

The administration of justice is regulated with a degree of minuteness which we have seen equalled nowhere else, and presents many points of marked and peculiar character. There are no less than eighteen varieties of tribunals whose functions are strictly judicial, having cognizance for the most part of separate branches of the law, or of causes between distinct classes of litigants. We can here only mention two of the most singular features of this system. One is the existence



of a corps of special judges in connection with the Courts of Appeal and the Supreme Court, who are selected from men engaged in different branches of business, miners, merchants, and farmers, and who, when a case is on trial involving the interests of either of these pursuits, sit together with the law Judges on the bench, having an equal voice with them in judgment both as to the law and the fact. This provision is intended to insure a more complete understanding by the Court of the usages and technicalities of commercial business, and also to prevent adjudications or the promulgation of dicta relative to such cases which might be injurious to the general interests of the particular branch of industry involved in the suit. The other peculiarity relates to the Domestic Court,—a tribunal of fathers to decide in the cases of minors complaining of the refusal of parents to permit their marriage. Unless the defendant can show satisfactory cause for refusal, the Court will decree the marriage to take place. The result of this is, that runaway matches are as rare as they are unwarranted, and the peace of families is less liable to be broken by unfortunate matrimonial alliances than where these tribunals are unknown. The political importance of the Domestic Courts in Chile, beyond the social considerations involved, may be seen from the constitutional provision making, in favor of married persons, a difference of four years in reaching the age of majority. The moral tendency of these inducements and facilities for marriage is apparent.

The political divisions of Chile, although of necessity much less numerous than those of their judicial system, are more minute than even those of the United States. They embrace from the central government continuous subdivisions, down to the small inspectorships, which include a few streets in the cities or a few farms in the rural districts. Each of these divisions has its own internal arrangements and peculiar powers distinct from any other, although each subject to the one above it, and all under the supervision of the general Government. This division of labor in administration insures obedience to the law and justice to the citizen, and approaches more nearly in its minutiae to the patriarchal system than does any other government with which we are acquainted.

We have thus briefly touched upon the principal sources of prosperity in Chile. Nature has done all she could, and man has organized society more skilfully there than in any other South American State. Still there are some drawbacks which eventually will impede the continued advancement of the State, unless their causes are removed ; but as these per-



tain not merely to Chile, but more or less to all the sister Republics, we shall allude to them collectively at the close of this article.

Peru formed one of the great vice-royalties into which South America was divided soon after the conquest. It then included all the Pacific States, and was by far the richest portion of the continent in all that was prized by the Spaniards. As the source of boundless wealth and the land of Pizarro's romantic career, it has always been an object of interest; but the most absorbing portion of its history and the most remarkable features of its government pertain to a period anterior to the discoveries of Balboa. Under the dominion of the Incas, its territory extended from the central portion of Chile to some point north of the equator. Cuzco and Quito were the capitals of the empire, and were connected by two great roads, one passing near the sea-coast, the other along the ridges of the Andes. Both of these highways, and many others which still partially remain, in the excellence of their construction equalled any of those which to this day attest the grandeur of the Roman empire, while that of the Andes far surpasses the most renowned works of the Cæsars. There may now be seen along the shores of Peru, a short distance from Lima, traces of a road quite equal to those of the Campania; and often among the mountains one may meet with galleries, tunnels, and causeways as much superior in scientific construction as in the difficulties of locality to the famous road of Trajan at the Dacian pass of the Danube. The remains of aqueducts still exist for miles along the steep sides of the Andes, used to convey water to the capital and to irrigate the gardens in its vicinity. The great number of these, and the infinite skill and labor with which they have been made, prove their authors to have been a people fully as advanced as the Romans in the arts of civilized life. Some of these are used at this day by the inhabitants in the environs of Cuzco, and the Inca roads are always the best and almost the only ones found among the Andes. The immense architectural remains found in Bolivia, especially on the borders and islands of Lake Titicaca, extending thence all the way to Cuzco, and at intervals, although more sparsely, beyond that city as far as Quito, furnish additional evidence, if more were required, of the power, the wealth, and the civilization of the Incas of Peru. The details of their system of administration prove them to have been a race with whom the science of government had been carried to a degree

of perfection which we find at this day only among the most civilized and philosophic nations. Their unhappy end, the total destruction of the most interesting people and institutions which modern discovery has brought to light, has thrown around the old Peruvian empire a halo of romance to which the graphic recitals of the chroniclers of the conquest add increasing zest. To these records, embodying all that we probably can ever know from the archives of Cuzco, we are indebted for what little has been transmitted to us of the details of their sagacious and subtle polity. Of the extent and character of their civilization enough remains in the imperishable monuments of their skill and industry to satisfy the most careless observer. Their religion was that of sun-worship. They worshipped the sun as the father of their race and fructifier of the earth, and paid homage to the moon and stars as superior brethren from a common stock. Temples to all these divinities abound, more especially among the Andes, some of them so vast and imposing as to astonish the beholder, although he be familiar with the majesty of Thebes and the glories of Baalbec.

Perched on some promontory overlooking a glassy lake, or elevated on a pinnacle commanding the plain and frowning over the gorges beneath, these temples stand always in a conspicuous place where they may catch the first gleam of the morning sun or receive the last glow of his retiring beams. It was at these hours that "the children of the sun" thronged to the open portal with horn and incense to hail their Father's rise, or offer adoration at the close of day. The same system of consecration that existed in the religion of Greece and Rome, and maintains at the present time in the Papal Church, formed a part of Inca worship. The virgins of the sun were set apart for the especial duties of religion, and were supported in convents. Death was the penalty to either party in the case of the violated purity of a vestal. The Inca monarchs were entitled Sons of the Sun, and bore upon their standards a rainbow, as the most beautiful and spiritual of the emanations of light. But the sixteenth century brought the matchlock and the mass to annihilate the power and supplant the religion of the ancient lords of Peru. From that time down to a very recent period, the viceregal government of Spain controlled the destinies of this wealthiest portion of the continent.

In the breaking up of the old Spanish power consequent upon the troubles which commenced in 1810, and the subsequent independence of the southern States in 1816, Peru was

shorn of a large portion of her former territory, which went to make up some of the Republics already described. Upper Peru was separated from her still later, and forms the present State of Bolivia. The two Perus were the last countries that remained in possession of the Spaniards in America. When the freedom of La Plata and Chile had been secured, the "liberty expedition" under San Martin was fitted out from Valparaiso, and in 1820 carried the war of independence into the stronghold of Spanish power. The Colombian army under Bolivar having expelled the enemy from their country, also advanced from the north. For five years Peru was the seat of an obstinate and sanguinary war, until, at the close of 1824, the decisive battle of Ayacucho, the Yorktown of South America, won by the illustrious General Sucre, dissipated the brilliant army of the Viceroy, and secured the independence of lower Peru. The remnant of the Spanish forces maintained themselves for a few months in the defiles of Bolivia, but were soon expelled by the activity of Bolivar. The last spot on the western continent that remained in the hands of the royalists was Callao, the port of Lima. This was defended by Rodil, with the courage and obstinacy of an officer who was determined to be the last representative of his sovereign in America; nor did the strong castle surrender till pestilence had reduced its garrison to a handful, and famine had exhausted even the supply of horses, dogs and vermin, upon which, for many months, they had subsisted. At length, on the 23d of January, 1826, Callao capitulated, and the last colonial banner of Spain disappeared from the American continent.

The Republic which has supplanted the viceroyalty differs in many respects from the others, but, like nearly all of them, has been the scene of almost continual strife. Pizarro and his compeers, when their common purpose was attained in the extinction of the Inca empire, were estranged by bitter feuds, and decided their personal animosities by the arbitrament of arms. Three centuries of occupation seem not to have changed the nature of their fierce and intractable descendants. Scarcely had the noble object which for a time had rallied the entire population of Spanish America, from Mexico to Cape Horn, to one common standard, been achieved, before the old elements of selfish ambition, to which protracted war had given new life, were developed with an intensity only equalled by the rancor which pervades the civil strifes of Spain. Peru has experienced an unusual share of this commotion, and been deprived of the superior advantages



which must result from a well-regulated representative government. The consequence has been, that in the minds of many of the most substantial and best educated of her citizens, the idea of a return to monarchical institutions has been slowly maturing, and is often freely expressed by them in conversation. Such a backward revolution could not be effected without a desperate struggle, and would never be desired, if any other change under the operation of the present system—such, for instance, as the election of a new President—could be accomplished without the same bloody ordeal. As matters now stand, it may well be doubted whether the hereditary sovereignty of one family would not insure greater security to the nation and prosperity and happiness to the people than can exist under the present organization.

Peru is a country of large landed proprietors. The tenantry are all Indians or cholos, who live on the estates, paying an annual rent of five dollars for a rancho and a strip of land about sixteen rods in length by eight in width, and working at twenty-five cents a day, when required by the landlord.

The chief productions are grain, wool, cascarilla or Peruvian bark, coffee and coca,—the latter being a leaf which is chewed by the Indians, and reputed to enable one to sustain great fatigue without other food by its stimulating and nutritious properties. The taste when dried resembles tea, and the plant is a distinct species and smaller than the yerba of Paraguay. The potato is indigenous to Peru. But it is in its exhaustless mines of precious metals that Peru realizes at once its principal source of wealth, and the chief cause of its past misfortunes and present demoralization. It was the rumor of these riches that led Pizarro from Panama; and it was the gold of Atahualpa that cost him his life, and his people their liberty. Peru is the most mountainous country on earth, and those mountains in many cases appear to be one mass of silver ore. The silver mines of Cerro Pasco are at this time the most productive in the world. The country is almost destitute of forests, causing every sort of article in which wood is required to be extremely costly.

The political system of Peru is in some respects the most democratic of any that exists—dangerously so when we consider the character of the population; but its administration is practically restrictive to a degree that would not be tolerated in the United States, and presents many more points of resemblance to the despotism of La Plata than to the oligarchy of Chile or the pseudo-republican anarchy of Bolivia. The passport system in the interior is enforced with Russian rigor,

and any person is liable to arrest upon the mere assertion of an individual that he is a suspicious character, without its being stated, until he is brought before the magistrate, of what he is suspected. At least nine tenths of the people are Indians or half-breeds. The large cities of the interior are for the greater part composed of them, and the small towns and villages completely so. Cuzco, the second city of the Republic in population and wealth, and the most interesting locality on this continent for its historic associations and its architectural monuments, both Inca and Spanish, with 25,000 inhabitants, has not twenty families of pure Spanish blood in the place. In some of the interior departments not one twentieth of the people can speak the Spanish language, and yet the suffrage is free to all. Each year, at the anniversary of the victory of Ayacucho, a general election is held for members of the Electoral College. One elector to every five hundred voters is chosen. Upon this College devolves the choice of all the officers in the State. The departmental Colleges appoint the *alcaldes*, justices of the peace, &c. The united Colleges choose the President and members of Congress. The Congress consists of seventy-eight members, one third of whom go out every two years, the twenty-six names being drawn by lot. The constitutional term of the President is six years. His actual term has thus far depended chiefly on the will of the militia and standing force of the country, and on his own skill and success in checking the attempts at revolution. General Castilla, the present incumbent, having by his energy and ability thus far sustained himself against repeated attacks until now near the limit of his constitutional period, will probably be allowed to present the unique spectacle of a Peruvian President retiring from office in the mode recognized by law.

The country is the most unsafe by reason of banditti, as well as the most unpleasant on account of its absurd police regulations, that the traveller can visit in South America; and this to a North American appears strangely inconsistent with the professions of a government which in some points is more purely democratic than any in the world.

The Colombian States were the first in South America to declare their independence of Spain. The idea is said to have originated with Bolivar, when, in travelling with some compatriots, they were presented at Paris to the Imperial Government by the Ambassador of Spain. On returning from the audience, it is said that Bolivar expressed to his friends

his chagrin that the citizens of a whole continent beyond the seas could only obtain official communication with European authorities through the medium of a Minister who, regarding them as provincials, looked on them with a measure of disdain. "Why should this thing be? Why should we not have a Minister of our own, and no longer be attached to a small European State—a continent to a peninsula?" asked Bolivar. Tradition says that this was the germ of the revolution. Commotion in many parts of the continent preceded for years a formal declaration of independence, but in Colombia this final step was taken much earlier. In Venezuela and many of the provinces of New-Granada it took place in 1811, although some of the cities remained in possession of the Spaniards long after. In 1819, the Republic of Colombia was formed by the union of Venezuela and New-Granada, to which the State of Ecuador was soon after added. The brief existence of this Republic was marked by greater justice and liberality in many points of legislation, and by a wiser provision for the ultimate prosperity of the country, than has characterized any other South American State since that period. The Congress of Venezuela, ten years anterior to this, had set an example of sacred regard to private rights, in the Constitution at that time decreed, which was not lost upon the legislators of the new and enlarged Republic. In 1821, the general Congress of Colombia extinguished for ever the tribunal of the Inquisition, and promulgated the noble decree, which of itself places that Republic far in advance of any of her more successful compeers, that no foreigner should be in any way molested for his religious belief within the limits of the Republic. It is to be regretted that a State which had taken so high a position upon the southern continent, and which, by the extent of its territory, the advantages of its location, its great mineral wealth and boundless fertility, united all the elements of prosperity to a degree that must soon have enabled it to rank with the first-rate powers of the world, could not have maintained its integrity by crushing beneath the moral force of loyalty and patriotism the discordant factions by which it was for a long time distracted and ultimately dismembered. But the same insatiate spirit of selfish ambition in partisan leaders, and intolerable love of discord pervading the masses, which have made shipwreck of all but one of the sister Republics, soon wrought their legitimate result upon Colombia. Bolivar is said to have compared his country to a dried hide: "The moment you put down a rising in one place, it starts up in another," so constant were the revolts in different sec-



tions of the Republic, each aiming at supremacy. Indeed, Colombia seems to have taken the lead in all that was bad as well as in all that was good, connected with the war of independence. Scarcely had the people embarked in the perilous conflict with the mother country, and when the result was still extremely doubtful by reason of the threatened league of the other despotic States of Europe with Spain for the preservation of her colonies, and while as yet many of the provinces had not formally declared their independence or begun the revolution against the royal government, there commenced in some of these very provinces of New-Granada, in 1813, a bloody struggle between the Federal and Unitarian parties as to which of these forms of government should be adopted by the prospective Republic. The Federal forces were defeated in besieging the Unitarian city of Bogota, and thus was shed the first domestic blood in a quarrel that was destined to overspread the entire sisterhood of Republics. Less than ten years from the organization of Colombia sufficed to rend asunder the fairest fabric of national greatness ever constructed in South America. Two presidential terms, those of Bolivar and Mosquera, were the beginning and the end of the Republic of Colombia.

The States of Ecuador, New-Granada, and Venezuela were organized from the fragments of the old Republic.

Ecuador, the smallest of the three, presents many points of attraction in its physical character, but politically is as uninteresting as it is insignificant. The richness of the whole alluvial portion of the country, extending from the base of the Andes to the ocean, is astonishing. Nowhere in the world is vegetation so rank and exuberant as in those portions of Ecuador which are watered by the river Guayas. It is a thinly settled region, but a few small villages being scattered between Guayaquil and the mountains, and the inhabitants of these are spare and sickly in appearance compared with the robust and healthful population of the table-lands. The whole region is still a primeval forest of gigantic growth, covered with climbing and creeping plants peculiar to the tropics, which often for miles together festoon the river banks with brilliant foliage and gorgeous flowers. Floating islands, often covering an area of many yards, formed by accretions of aquatic plants attached to drifting masses of decayed wood, or buoyed up by their own lightness, are constantly met with in the river, and as they are swept along by the wind or current, present a singular and almost fairy-like appearance.

In some instances, these islets possess sufficient consistency to support the weight of several men. Innumerable alligators infest the streams and marshes, while serpents of huge dimensions and wild beasts of many sorts retain undisturbed possession of the forests. The few plantations within this wilderness of verdure produce cocoa which supplies half the world with chocolate, and furnish the finest fruits of the torrid zone, among which a variety of pineapple exceeds all others of its kind in flavor, size, and wholesome qualities; it may be eaten with a spoon, and is permitted even in cases of extreme disease. The chimoya, which divides with the mangostine of Batavia the title of the most exquisite of fruits, here attains its perfection. The sugar-cane is spontaneous in its growth, and forests of bamboo more than a hundred feet in height attest the depth and rankness of the moistened soil.

A precipitous ascent from this luxuriant region conducts us speedily to the elevated table-lands of the Andes. Trees mostly disappear, and comparatively barren and broken plains, traversed by rocky hills, intersected by narrow and deep ravines, and closed in by the tremendous pinnacles of the Andes, present some of the sublimest scenery in nature. The road to Quito passes directly over a stormy ridge of Chimborazo, and introduces one to a region covered with some of the most formidable volcanoes and stupendous summits in the world. Cotapaxi sends forth unceasing volumes of smoke and flame, and Pichincha, impending above the capital, threatens some day to involve it in the fate of *Herculeum*. The incessant thunders of the volcano of Maquez, at present the most violent of all, may be heard for more than a hundred miles, and all approach to its vicinity is cut off for many leagues by the storm of cinders and molten lava constantly discharged from its crater. Quito, the largest city of Colombia, and with one exception the most elevated town on the globe, is said to contain a larger number of the old titled families of Spain than any other in South America. But its inhabitants are for the most part Indians, with a large admixture of negro and white blood, as is the case with the whole country. The political and moral condition of Ecuador is alike degraded. The people are naturally hospitable, and among the higher classes of the capital the distinguished courtesy of the old Spaniards is still retained; but continual civil dissensions have induced a degree of suspicion that almost interdicts social intercourse.

The administrations of Gen. Flores and his successor Rocafuerte, both of whom served out their legal term of office,

were giving to Ecuador a respectable position as a State, when the re-election of the former aroused the elements of jealousy and discord. The revolution resulted in the expulsion of Flores after sixteen years of presidential service, including his first term. Ever since that time the country has been in a state of commotion, sometimes from the rumor of invasion by Flores, and at others from the efforts to overthrow the government of Roca, the present incumbent. The consequence of this excitement is that for many years past the government of Ecuador has been little else than a nullity.

New-Granada is the most populous, prosperous and powerful of the Colombian States, and with the exception of Chile, the most stable and efficient in its government of any in South America. With fewer conservative restrictions in its Constitution than Chile, it has maintained the purity of its republicanism through trials which have shaken to their foundations the more democratic governments. Its geographical position is perhaps the most favorable of any of the States for developing its vast internal resources. Nearly a thousand miles of Pacific coast, and a still greater extent on the Caribbean sea, furnish facilities for commerce which it only requires an increased population to improve. The elevated regions of the interior afford the productions of the temperate zone. The alluvial portions of the country, and the superb valleys which divide the parallel ranges of Andes, some of which are unrivalled in beauty and fertility by any in the world, abound in all the vegetation of the tropics. The caoutchouc or India-rubber tree grows here. The mineral treasures of New-Granada, like those of many other portions of the continent, seem exhaustless. The emerald mines alone are a source of unfailing revenue to the government; and so numerous and productive are these mines that but very few of those known to exist are allowed to be worked. The amount of emeralds already in the government treasury is said to be sufficient to reduce the present value of that gem one half should the whole quantity be thrown at once on the markets of the world. The magnificent valley of the Cauca, for nearly three hundred miles, abounds in gold, which is found in the gorges of the surrounding Andes as well as in the sands of the river. It is a land of natural wonders. Here is the famous rock-bridge of Pandi or Icononzo, and here the stupendous cataract of Tequendama leaps, in a single bound, from the upper plain of Bogota nearly six hundred feet to the torrid valley of the Magdalena.

The character of the people varies materially in different



provinces. Those of the elevated districts are enterprising and industrious, while in the warm regions their inactivity may be gathered from a current proverb on the Magdalena: "La noche es para dormir, y el dia para descansar,"—The night is for sleep, and the day for rest. Slavery still lingers in some portions of the country, but is gradually becoming extinct under the operation of law. The labor on the large estates is performed chiefly by negroes, free or slave. The wages of the former are thirty-seven cents a-day. There is a much larger proportion of negro blood in New-Granada than in any other State we have described. The low countries are entirely filled with them, intermixed with Indians and mulattoes. Of their character we may judge from the remark of Bolivar respecting the bogas of the Magdalena, who are free negroes of unmixed blood, that "they approach the nearest to the human species of any animals in the country!"

Since the organization of New-Granada as a distinct State, and the adoption of the present Constitution in 1831, it has for a great portion of the time enjoyed comparative tranquillity, although occasionally disturbed by the movements of partisan chieftains. The practical test of stability in South American government appears to be the capacity to pass unscathed through the ordeal of a Presidential election. This New-Granada accomplished two years ago, and notwithstanding murmurs of discontent and threats of armed opposition, the successful party have peacefully entered upon the duties of administration. We may therefore rank her by the side of Chile among the well-settled States of South America, and may give to New-Granada the credit of being at present the most practically republican government on the southern continent.

Of Venezuela, the last of the sister Republics remaining to be considered, we shall say nothing in this connection, for it is the only one of which we have had no personal observation. For years past it has been in a vacillating state, between anarchy and despotism, and constantly subject to the vicissitudes and disasters of civil war. The accession of the new President, who, though a brother and placed in office by the influence of the late Executive, seems to be adopting an independent and more patriotic course than his predecessor, has recently opened the prospect of returning prosperity to this long distracted Republic. Venezuela was the first to declare her independence of Spain, and her earliest constitutional measures were more liberal and worthy of an enlightened people than those of any other South American State.

It may be hoped that in her future efforts at representative government she may reap the just reward of her past magnanimity.

We have now passed in review all the South American Republics, and find, that although they all profess to be governed by similar principles, no two of them arrive at the same result. The causes of this difference we have in some instances specified. That there was originally a diversity in the sources whence these States were colonized, as well as a present difference in the attributes and the component elements of their population, there is good reason to believe. Some of these nations have been compared with those of Europe in a manner which conveys a good idea of their relative merits to those familiar with transatlantic character. It has been said that the Buenos Ayreans or Argentines are the French, the Chilenos the English, and the Peruvians the Italians of South America; and it is somewhat remarkable that not only do these nations in themselves present the attributes of the European races with which they are thus compared, but that in each of them are to be found a larger proportion of those Europeans than in any other. There are more Frenchmen in Buenos Ayres, more English in Chile, and more Italians in Peru, than there are of any other foreigners. Whether the national characteristics have been transmitted in this way, or whether a natural sympathy, or merely accidental causes have led to this singular coincidence, matters little to our present purpose. But so distinct are the social as well as political developments of these nations, that we are inclined to look for the difference in a diversity of origin in the early colonists. Spain, it is well known, is the least homogeneous country in Europe. It is in fact an accretion of races totally distinct in their character, and united under one government by political accidents, such as at one time had well nigh added Portugal to the same common sovereignty. A corresponding contrast would naturally present itself in colonies settled from dissimilar provinces, although under the protection of one government, and this contrast would become more apparent when the colonies organized as separate States with distinct constitutions. No better illustration can be found than that exhibited by the nearly adjacent States of Chile and Peru. The former is Biscayan, the latter Andalusian in its origin. The one retains the hardihood of the north, the other the gayety and grace of the south of Spain; nor do England and Italy differ more widely in their habits and springs of action than

do these neighboring colonies from opposite sections of the mother country.

It is unfortunate for all these Republics that the ill-favor with which a portion of the people regard the United States, owing in part to the recent conquest of Mexico, leads many of them to look elsewhere than here for examples in popular government. This feeling may be accounted for partly by the natural sympathy of a common origin with the Mexicans, whose overwhelming defeat, in the face of every advantage of numbers, position, and inducements to fight, has somewhat wounded the pride of South Americans; but it is nurtured and increased by the intrigues of foreign residents, who leave no occasion unimproved to augment their own influence at the expense of their republican rivals. It is a singular fact that the dislike to North Americans seems to increase with the distance from the United States. Temporary political events cause this prejudice to be less violent among the natives of Uruguay and La Plata than in Chile, where it is too plainly apparent. In Peru it is much less than in Chile; in New-Granada the feeling is still more favorable; while in Central America it is strongly in favor of our countrymen.

Another drawback to the prosperity of the Pacific States of South America, but from which the Atlantic nations are honorably exempt, results from their intolerance in matters of religion. Not only is the Roman Catholic faith established by law, but several of the State Constitutions contain distinct clauses forbidding the public exercise of any other form of worship. This illiberal and bigoted policy is inconsistent with their republican professions, and incompatible with the existence of any very permanent and efficient condition of national prosperity. Countries which like these are anxious to promote immigration, and hold out to the enterprising of every land inducements to settle in their territories, should know that for the proper development of their resources, it is important to remove spiritual as well as civil restrictions upon the free action of their citizens. This species of special legislation, which seeks to protect the Papal hierarchy by removing from it the danger of intelligent opposition, is mainly the work of the priesthood. These may naturally enough oppose the toleration of free opinion, and desire to shelter their ecclesiastical institutions beneath the bulwark of the law. How long they will retain an ascendancy which has never yet been exerted for other than selfish ends, or contributed an iota to the sum of national prosperity, must depend upon the time which it may require for the people to realize the great first



principle of North American philosophy, that "Truth is mighty and will prevail." If this maxim is true in politics,—and that it is so, the success of "the great Republic of the North" during three fourths of a century of action based upon its correctness sufficiently proves,—it cannot be less so in religion, which is held in every Christian country, of whatever faith, to be the essence of all truth. The doctrine of the underived independence of the soul, which two centuries ago emanated from the smallest State in this Republic, and has ever since been pursuing its conquering march over the world, until now it has overspread the whole northern continent, and is felt in the calm majesty of its truth even by the down-trodden masses of Europe must sooner or later prevail even in the strongholds of southern Papacy, and although it may not change the hereditary creed of the people, will soften the inherent bigotry of their governments. Whether this result be achieved by the gradual discovery of the essentials to national prosperity, or be brought about amidst the carnage of revolution, depends much on the character of the different nations. With the more intelligent and stable of these governments, the former will probably be the case; while the latter class, which unfortunately are the most numerous, may have first to pass through the ordeal of civil strife. A revolution based upon this principle will at least possess one advantage over the many which have already occurred,—that it will have a principle in place of a faction for its foundation, and patriots instead of partisans for its supporters.

The practical operation of this intolerent proscription is to deprive resident foreigners of Protestant faith of the opportunities for religious worship except in the most private manner. The administrative officers of all these States would willingly enough sanction the erection of Protestant churches, were they not restrained by the positive prohibitory clauses in their Constitutions. They see the evil tendency of the restriction, and would doubtless remove it if they could; but it can only be legally done by amending the organic law, and this requires the direct sanction of the people, over whom the clergy exercise unlimited sway.

It seems to us that a proper occasion is here presented for the interposition of our Government in behalf of its numerous citizens whom commercial pursuits require to reside in South America. We certainly would not advocate the interference of the United States with any regulation of a foreign government pertaining only to its internal affairs. But the subject under discussion is one that intimately concerns a large num-

ber of our own people. We profess to protect them in their rights from the injustice of foreign rulers, even when the wrong may be inflicted under the ostensible sanction of law. As a government we acknowledge no religion, lest the terms of such acknowledgment might be construed into the support of some sort of ecclesiastical establishment, in perversion of the principles which actuate us in this respect, which are, to leave every citizen free in his spiritual allegiance to God alone. In virtue of this entire religious freedom, the Roman Catholic, the Jew, and the followers of all other creeds, are as free as the great Protestant mass of the American people in the enjoyment of their peculiar forms of worship. Reciprocal courtesy, common justice, and inherent right alike demand that the United States should claim a corresponding freedom for its own citizens within the limits of the sister Republics. We are not arguing for the recognition of Protestantism in particular, but of that broad principle of natural right which includes all faiths and all forms of religious worship within the ample folds of its protection. We contend that the rights and the comfort of our citizens resident abroad require that this great principle be recognized, so far at least as relates to them, by the governments where they are domiciled; and thus far we hold it to be the duty of the United States, through the medium of her diplomatic representatives, to secure such recognition. Whether the privilege thus secured to North Americans should be extended to natives of the country must depend solely upon the action of the people of that country: with this we can have nothing to do; but our right to protect our own citizens in their spiritual as well as in their temporal privileges is unquestionable, and should be enforced.

One more point remains to be noticed before we bring this long article to a close. Perhaps the greatest difficulty with which the South American States have to contend is a predilection for every thing French. French ideas in politics, morals, and philosophy seem to pervade the whole southern continent. Even the graceful mantilla and the national guitar have been supplanted for the most part in polite society by the French bonnet and piano forte. It is wonderful how France has obtained such an ascendancy in that quarter of the world. A nation which, since the days of Charlemagne, has tried every form of government, from the tyranny of Louis XI. to the republicanism of Robespierre, and found no stability except under the shadow of despotism,—which has been periodically in revolution ever since it existed, continually evolving new theories of government to be tried and thrown aside,—is unfit

to be taken as a guide by new States just entering on the perilous path of self-government. France may be a proper model in the matters of bonnets and bon bons, and even a brilliant light in the paths of physical science, but she is a dangerous and uncertain adviser in political philosophy. The same strange fascination of manner and facility of adaptation which have made the French the most successful people in dealing with savages, charms likewise the most polished nations, and confers upon France an influence similar in character but far wider in extent with that exerted by the States of Greece in the age of Pericles. Yet France, though she can win where she cannot subdue, has never succeeded in colonization. How could she since she cannot govern herself at home? We repeat that this influence is most disastrous in its effect upon the prosperity of South America. It is making inroads upon the social system even of the most substantial of the sister Republics, first manifesting itself in the changes of fashion, and then sapping the moral fabric of society. In the political organization of many of the States it seems already to have wrought its work of destruction in the dissemination of socialist doctrines, the consequent disregard for the authority of law, the continued recurrence of revolutions, and the loss of the desire, and even the idea of regulated liberty. In these cases national independence has been deprived of its intrinsic worth, and anarchy has supervened upon the despotism of Spain. The elements of order seem destined to a yet more bitter conflict with those of discord. A patriotism like that of the early heroes of the war of independence will again be required to secure the true liberty of the people, and the spirit of a Washington or another Bolivar must once more rally their scattered armies around the drooping and now almost prostrate banner of South American freedom.

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## ART. II.—THE PROMISE FULFILLED.—ACTS II. 1-4.

And when the day of Pentecost was fully come, they were all with one accord in one place. And suddenly there came a sound from heaven, as of a rushing mighty wind, and it filled all the house where they were sitting. And there appeared unto them cloven tongues, like as of fire, and it sat upon each of them: and they were all filled with the Holy Ghost, and began to speak with other tongues, as the Spirit gave them utterance.

IN every age, the bestowment of great spiritual blessings has been preceded by a season of earnest desire and preparation on the part of the people of God. When the Law was given on Sinai, introducing that economy which was to be the shadow of good things to come, Moses sanctified the congregation, and sought, by solemn observances, to produce a state of mind suited to the high dispensation which was now to be received. At the period of our Lord's incarnation, there were many devout men among the Jews, who were anxiously looking for the Consolation of Israel, and whose unwearied supplications ascended to heaven, that the long promised Deliverer might appear. And thus was it when the Holy Spirit—the glorious Messenger whom Christ was to send from the Father—came down, in the fulness of his grace and power, on the waiting disciples. Ten days had they watched for his coming, in ceaseless prayer and intense expectation. And now the hour so eagerly longed for has arrived. The sun of Pentecost has risen, gilding with its early beams the mountains of Judea, the towers of the Holy City, and the dome of its gorgeous Temple; thus imaging the brightness of that new spiritual era which was dawning on the nations.

The word Pentecost is a Greek numeral signifying the fiftieth. It was applied by the Hellenistic Jews to the Feast of Weeks, because its celebration occurred fifty days after the Passover. According to the institute of Moses,\* the paschal lamb was to be slain on the evening of the fourteenth of Nisan, or April. On the fifteenth, the Festival of Unleavened Bread properly commenced. On the sixteenth, the second day of the Passover,—the early barley harvest having then begun,—a sheaf of first-fruits was to be waved before the Lord, as a thank-offering. From the evening of this day, seven complete sabbaths or weeks were to be reckoned,† allowing time for the entire harvest to ripen; and then the day following—the fiftieth from the presentation of the wave-offering—

\* Lev. xxiii. 4-21.

† Jos. Ant. L. iii. c. 10, 11.

was to be observed as a season of devout gratitude and praise to God for the munificence of his bounty. In allusion to this design, it is called interchangeably the "day of first-fruits," and "the feast of harvest." Although the fact is not mentioned in the Mosaic code, yet Maimonides, and some other Jewish writers affirm, that in connection with thanksgiving for the products of the earth, the promulgation of the Law was then celebrated; as that event was believed to have taken place fifty days after the exodus from Egypt.\* That the day was originally set apart for this two-fold purpose, may well be questioned; but that, in later times, it was so observed, is clearly asserted by historical testimony. It was thus a day of great distinction among the Jews, commemorating at once their religious privileges, and their temporal blessings. But it is a day far more important in the annals of Christianity; for in it commenced, under the ministration of the Spirit, the publication of the new law of life in the gospel, written, "not in tables of stone, but in fleshly tables of the heart;" and the thrusting of the sickle into that rich harvest of salvation, which is never to cease, until the garners of heaven are filled with rejoicing sheaves, and the Redeemer, counting up their number, "shall see of the travail of his soul, and be satisfied."

It is the opinion of many, that the present Pentecost occurred on the Lord's day, or Christian Sabbath. From our ignorance of the Jewish method of reckoning, as well as from the different modes which evidently prevailed among themselves, the correctness of this opinion cannot be perfectly demonstrated. Yet there is the highest degree of probability in its favor. According to the most accurate authorities, our Lord ate his last Paschal Supper at its regularly appointed time, on the evening of Thursday, the fourteenth of the month Nisan.† That night he was arrested and brought before the Sanhedrim. On Friday, the fifteenth, he was delivered to Pilate, condemned, crucified, and buried. The sixteenth was the Jewish Sabbath, the second day of the Passover, and the day on which the offering of first-fruits was presented. Computed from the evening of this day, Pentecost would fall on the seventh of the month Sivan, or June, and on the first day of the week.‡ If this view be the true one, of which there can scarcely be a doubt, it follows that the first day of the week has been consecrated as the Sabbath of the new dispensation, not only by the rising of Christ from the dead, and

\* *Exod. xix.*

† See *Bibliotheca Sacra*, Vol. II., Art. vii., by Dr. Robinson.

‡ *Lightfoot, Works*, Vol. VIII., pp. 43-48.

his subsequent manifestation to his followers, but also by the official entrance of the Holy Paraclete on his work of unfolding and applying the grace of redemption.

On this eventful morning, the disciples "were all with one accord in one place." It is not necessary to infer that every individual in Palestine who believed in Christ was actually present. The expression relates to the "one hundred and twenty," mentioned in the preceding chapter, who, by continuing together, and worshipping in company, formed the visible embodiment of the infant Church. Where they were assembled we are not informed. Some have imagined it to have been in one of the chambers of the temple, as it was now the hour of morning prayer, when it was customary to resort thither for purposes of devotion. But this supposition is altogether improbable. Had the sacred historian intended any thing but a private house, he would have used language less liable to be misunderstood. Wherever he records gatherings that were held in the temple, he states the fact expressly. Besides, can it reasonably be believed that the disciples, in their present circumstances, would have ventured to meet in a large body, and to conduct Christian worship, in a place so public as the temple, and under the very eyes of the priests and rulers, whose hands were yet red with the blood of their murdered Master; or that they would have been permitted to do so, had they attempted it? It has been said that the inauguration of the economy of the Spirit becomes a more imposing spectacle, if the scene of it be laid in the holy place of the old religion. But this argument has no force. Christianity was not born to inherit the defunct glories of Judaism. It did not succeed to the honors and sanctities of a dispensation that was passing away. It came to displace the former system, not to adopt it. It came to create its own splendors and dignities; to form for itself a new holy place in every contrite and lowly heart, and in every spot where such hearts meet to worship the Father in spirit and in truth. It is, therefore, far more in accordance with the nature of the gospel, which shuns all outward pomp, and knows nothing of consecrated walls, to suppose that the descending Comforter chose as the scene of his manifestation—not the temple, with its thronged courts and solemn parade—but the quiet and seclusion of some private dwelling. And all the circumstances of the case, as well as the uniform testimony of ancient writers, render it highly probable that this event occurred in the same "upper room" in which the disciples had been wont to assemble since the ascension.



To this scene of their spiritual communings they were now drawn by a kindred impulse. They were influenced by the same motive, animated by the same desire, incited by the same hope. While their Master was with them, his personal presence formed their centre of union. Now, his memory, and the mingled regret and love which it awakened, together with the expectation of some great future blessing which his assurances had called forth, became the strong and indissoluble bond that twined itself around their hearts, and united them by its power. Their former strifes and ambitions were laid aside. They no longer sought which should be greatest. Every private wish and interest was absorbed in one all-pervading sentiment—affection for their glorified Lord, and eager anticipation of the grace which he had promised to bestow. Hence, not one of them was willing to be absent from the spot where his brethren were assembled to speak of Christ, to pray to him, and to watch for the first tokens of the glorious Visitant whose coming had been announced to them. They knew not, perhaps, that the Spirit would descend on that particular day; for the Saviour, in foretelling his advent, had not named a definite time, but had simply said, “Ye shall be baptized with the Holy Ghost, not many days hence.” Yet they were anxiously looking for his appearance; and they resolved to be in constant readiness for it, by being “all in one place, with one accord.”

What a beautiful view is here presented to us of the spirit and conduct which Christians should now exhibit! It is when they are cemented in fellowship, by holy love to their Redeemer and to each other; when they prosecute the work, which he has assigned them, in mutual harmony and co-operation; when they delight in the assemblies of his saints, and tread his courts with earnest longings for his presence and grace; it is then that the Divine Comforter manifests himself to them, fills their hearts with heavenly joy, and sheds forth his renewing influence on the surrounding masses of the dead in sin.

So was it with the little church at Pentecost. It had no wealth or secular power, to give it position and consequence in the eyes of men. But it had what is far better—humility, fervor, and unity of feeling and object. Its members were few, but they were all in their place. None were straying about the city, looking into other religious gatherings, or attracted by curiosity to see what remarkable things might be doing in other quarters. Each was at his post, joining his brethren, with his whole soul, in the importunity of prayer,

and in the waiting of faith. Lip spoke to lip, eye beamed to eye, heart throbbed to heart, linked by a divine and all-engrossing sympathy. And what a striking display did God then give of his contempt for the observances of a stately but lifeless formalism, and of his regard to the humble desire of those who seek him in sincerity! At that hour, there was much of outward worship going forward in Jerusalem. It was the day on which the nation offered public praise for its theocratical constitution, and for the bounties of the teeming earth. The city was filled with Jews from all lands, who had come to pay their vows at the sacred seat of their religion. The mansions of the rich and great resounded with loud prayers and festal hymns. The streets were thronged with multitudes in holiday attire, bent on the business of seeming devotion. At the Temple, which, towering from its lofty site, overlooked the whole animated scene—the attraction of all eyes, and the pride of all hearts—the rites of the national worship were in the process of their most august and imposing celebration. Crowds, of all climes and languages, traversed the spacious courts. Gorgeously-robed priests, and Pharisees with their broad phylacteries, moved in solemn pomp along the gilded corridors. From decorated pulpits, sweet-voiced scribes read forth the Law. The companies of Levites, and the players on instruments, chanted in full chorus the sublime strains of the old Hebrew poets. The treasury overflowed with offerings; altars smoked with victims; incense breathed its hallowed odors; votaries kneeled at every shrine; and all bore the aspect of an entire people doing homage to its Maker and Preserver. But is it this spectacle which absorbs the attention of celestial beings? Do angels, leaning on their harps, bend over the starry battlements of the skies to contemplate it? Does the Father view it with complacency? Does the glorified Son behold in it aught of his promised joy? Is the blessed Paraclete about to visit it? No, no. The eyes of all heaven are indeed directed to earth, and to Jerusalem; but it is not on the Temple, and its throng of ostentatious worshippers, that their gaze is fixed. Another spot—that upper room, with its praying, weeping occupants—fastens their regard; for there an event is soon to take place, more illustrious than the promulgation of the Law on Sinai; an event, which shall write the new law of Christ in renewed hearts; which shall substitute for legal ceremonies inward, vital holiness; and which, in its ultimate results, shall transform the whole earth into one vast temple dedicated to the Saviour. And now the important moment has come; the

signal is given from the throne of the Godhead; the Eternal Spirit, proceeding from the Father and the Son, enters on his great embassy; and, "suddenly," there is heard by that lowly band "a sound from heaven as of a mighty rushing wind," and fiery "tongues" are playing around their heads. The Holy Ghost is among them—upon them—and within them.

On this miracle, so stupendous in its influence on the original development of Christianity, and so essential to its progress through all time, let us now fasten our most earnest and reverent attention. The Divine Spirit, you will observe, made known his presence under two forms of outward manifestation—the one addressed to the sense of hearing, the other to the sense of sight. The disciples, as they sat devoutly communing on the glory of their ascended Lord, and the future destinies of his kingdom, heard a sudden sound, coming apparently from heaven, or the upper regions of the air, resembling the rushing noise produced by a violent wind, and increasing in volume and power, until it filled all the house in which they were assembled. There is nothing in the language to lead us to suppose that there actually was a wind, but only that the sound was similar to that occasioned by such a movement of the atmosphere. The Greek word, which is here translated wind, literally signifies a *breathing—a strong emission of the breath*. And when our Lord, in one of his interviews with the apostles, subsequent to his resurrection, gave them a foretaste of the divine influence which they were afterwards so richly to enjoy, he *breathed* on them, and said, "Receive ye the Holy Ghost." As, therefore, they now heard this breathing sound in their midst, and felt it pervading the entire building in which they were met, while all was still and serene without, they would naturally connect it with the sign which the Saviour had then given them, and be led to regard it as a manifest token that the promised Spirit was now to be imparted. And this indication was immediately followed by another yet more striking. "There appeared unto them cloven tongues like as of fire, and sat upon each of them." Here again we must beware of imagining that tongues of literal fire are intended; otherwise we must suppose a double miracle—one in producing the fire, and another in preventing its natural effects as it came in contact with the disciples. The historian does not say the tongues were of fire, but like as of fire; that is, they had the semblance of fire, without being such in reality. The expression, "cloven tongues," does not give the true force of the



original words; nor is it possible, in our language, to convey their full import without a circumlocution. The meaning is not that the tongues were forked, each having two parts; nor that they were separate, each being wholly disjoined and isolated from the others; but that they were distributed,\* or radiated, as from a common source,† and each still retaining its connection with that source. The idea is evidently implied, that, in the midst of the room, there appeared a central fountain of light, like the Shekinah which dwelt in the ancient Tabernacle; and that from this fountain streams of effulgent brightness issued forth on every side, reaching each of the disciples, and resting upon them in the form of pointed rays, or tongues of lambent flame. Viewed in this aspect, the manifestation acquires new significance and beauty. The tongues being distinct, yet united at their source, clearly indicate that however varied may be the gifts which the Spirit confers, they are still one—one in their origin, and one in their purpose; and thus present to us a signal example of that diversity in unity, which characterizes the administration of God.

The question now arises, Were these appearances imaginary, or were they real? It has been asserted that this whole scene was a mere illusion—a phantasm, existing only in the excited minds of the disciples. And some, who acknowledge that the influence of the Spirit was then truly communicated, contend that its recipients were thrown by it into such a state of mental ecstasy, as to mistake their own inward feelings for external and sensible manifestations.‡ To this it may be replied, that such a state of the case is plainly impossible. The history of human delusion nowhere furnishes an instance of so large a number of persons, of different habits and constitutional tendencies, being brought, at the same time, so completely under the power of imagination, as to be unable to distinguish between the evidence of their senses and a dream of the fancy. An individual of peculiarly impressible temperament might, under very strong excitement, be thus deceived. But that a whole company, sitting and conversing in open day-light, should be so led astray, is more difficult to believe than the miracle itself. And if it be affirmed that the disciples heard and saw all this in an ecstasy, then we ask, what produced this ecstasy? They were not yet filled with the divine energy of the Comforter; for that is described as

\* Bloomfield in loc. Humphrey on Acts.

† *ἐκ μιᾶς ῥιζῆς*, "from one root." Chrysostom. "Feurige Flammen, die aus einem gemeinsamen Ursprung auszugehen schienen." Olshausen, Commentar, II. s. 651.

‡ Neander, *Pflanzung u. Leitung*, s. 15, vierte Auflage. Ryland's Translation, p. 20. New-York, 1847.

taking place after these outward appearances. What was it, then, which so ravished and bore them away, as to lead captive all their faculties, and subject them to the influence of one engrossing hallucination? But setting aside every other argument, it is sufficient to adduce the simple testimony of the sacred narrative itself. There is no account that the disciples, when they met, were in an excited state. Nor is there any evidence that they particularly expected the promise of the Father to be fulfilled at that hour. They met, as they had been wont to meet, hoping and desiring, yet calm and trustful, resolved to wait in tranquil confidence till the assured mercy should be received. And while they were thus assembled and thus engaged, "suddenly"—without any previous remarkable incident to work up their feelings—"there came a sound from heaven." In the Greek it reads, "there *was* a sound from heaven." And the verb so translated denotes actual existence; never an imaginary one. To the same effect is the remaining part of the sentence, which points out whence the sound originated—"from," or out of, "heaven"—not from the chimeras of earth. And then we are told, in immediate sequence, that "there appeared unto them"—in the original, there *were seen by them*—"tongues as of fire." The reading of our version is here somewhat unfortunate. The English word "appear" may sometimes be used to signify a mere apparition, or mental image; but the Greek word can never be so employed. When applied to objects, it denotes not only a thing which is positively seen, but a thing which positively exists. Thus clear is the evidence that the facts before us are recorded as real; and hence we cannot deny their reality without impugning the truth of Scripture, and rejecting its inspiration.

But if they were real, were they also supernatural? Attempts have been made to refer them to mere physical phenomena; the sound, according to this hypothesis, being caused by an earthquake or a whirlwind; and the fiery tongues being only flashes of lightning gleaming in at the windows, or reflections from a shower of meteors. A theory so futile and absurd may be very summarily dismissed. Not only does the sacred writer say nothing of such disturbances in the realm of nature, but had they occurred, they must have been known to all the dwellers in Jerusalem; and these, instead of wondering at what had taken place, could have explained it at once, and thus have refuted the declaration of the apostles, that the Spirit had been poured forth. Besides, it must have been a strange kind of electricity which could impart

to unlearned men the power of speaking in foreign tongues; enable them to communicate this power to others; and then continue it in the possession of the church, not for a moment or a day, but for many successive years. Equally baseless is the assumption, that the exhibitions under review were the product of imposture. By whom was this imposture contrived and executed? By the unbelieving Jews? What knowledge had they that the followers of Jesus expected any signal interposition from heaven? And without such knowledge, how could they have conceived the idea of playing on their credulity? Could they have accomplished this unobserved and undetected? And what motive could have induced them to attempt it? Was it their design to afford the apostles an occasion for asserting that a remarkable display of Divine power had been made in their favor? And when they heard this claim advanced, and witnessed the effect which it produced on the multitude, would they not have sought to counteract that effect, by showing that the pretended miracle was one of their own making? Was the imposture, then, devised and put in practice by the disciples themselves? Did they manufacture these wonderful demonstrations, and then, feigning a celestial inspiration, pour forth a mere jargon of senseless sounds, under the pretense of speaking in other tongues? Apart from the argument—though in itself one of great weight—that the simple and guileless character of the apostles and their associates renders such a fraud utterly improbable; and apart from the consideration, that had they been capable of fabricating it, its exposure must have been certain; the single fact, that they were understood by those in whose languages they professed to speak, is decisive of the question. As their known condition in life precludes the possibility that they could have learned these dialects by any ordinary methods, it follows that they must have been taught them by a supernatural influence, operating in connection with the extraordinary appearances which have now been examined. We are therefore compelled, unless we would do violence to every principle of evidence, to regard these appearances as purely miraculous.

But another inquiry now arises. Why did the Holy Comforter employ such symbols? Could he not have entered silently and invisibly into the hearts of the disciples, pervading them with light, and strength, and joy, and conferring on them all those miraculous endowments which their vocation demanded? Undoubtedly he might have done so. We do not suppose that these sensible exhibitions produced the results



by which they were attended. They were only the drapery in which the advent of the Spirit was clothed—the external form which covered the hiding of his power. It was his own unseen energy that transformed the timid followers of the crucified Jesus into bold assertors of his divine Messiahship and glory; that purified their minds from prejudice; expanded their views; inspired them with burning zeal and all-conquering faith; and gave them the extraordinary qualifications which they at once displayed. But although outward signs were not essential to the Spirit's work, which was vital and interior, yet there were wise and sufficient reasons for their adoption. They were necessary, in order that the disciples might have full assurance that their promised Enlightener and Guide had really come. It is probable that they entertained no definite conception of the manner in which he would exert his agency upon them; and without some perceptible proof of his presence, they might not have known how to understand the effects which they experienced in themselves; at least, they could not, with the same certainty, have referred them to the operation of Divine power. When Jehovah led the chosen tribes through the wilderness, he went before them in a pillar of cloud and of fire. This pillar was not God, nor was it essential to the presence of God. He might have conducted them as truly and as effectually without it as with it. But this visible manifestation was necessary to convince the people themselves, that the Almighty was indeed in their midst, to protect and govern them. So the rushing sound and the fiery tongues were not the Holy Ghost, but merely the vehicles by which he communicated to the disciples the knowledge of his presence. The miracle without them was thus a testimony to the miracle within them. And when once this testimony had been given, the former might be withdrawn, leaving only the inward, spiritual, abiding power of the latter.

These outward signs were also required for the conviction of others. We do not know that they were actually witnessed by any but the disciples. Yet it is possible, that when the multitude assembled, the rushing sound was still heard, and the tongues of flame still visible. But however this may be, it is certain that they saw the effect which had been produced. They beheld the disciples inspired as by a divine and invincible energy; and heard them proclaim, in tongues before unknown to them, the wonderful works of God. They doubtless learned from the apostles the marvellous events which had occurred; and they must have been wholly abandoned

to prejudice and unbelief, if in such circumstances they could doubt the truth of the account. A divinely attested record of these events has been preserved for the instruction of all ages; and we cannot but perceive how much more satisfactory is the evidence that the Holy Ghost did really descend on the first propagators of the gospel, than if his advent had been evinced only by his silent and viewless workings on the intellect and on the heart.

And while these symbols were necessary, they were also appropriate. It is remarkable that in both the languages in which the Scriptures were originally written, the word which signifies spirit, signifies also breath or wind. Hence, to the Jews as well as to the early Christians, air in motion was a very natural and intelligible emblem of the Holy Spirit. Thus Ezekiel, when commanded by God to call for a divine energy to reanimate the dry bones in the valley of vision, utters his invocation by employing this very emblem. "Come from the four winds, O breath, and breathe upon these slain, that they may live." And our Lord, in illustrating to Nicodemus the mysterious nature of regeneration, has recourse to the same comparison. "The wind bloweth where it listeth, and thou hearest the sound thereof, but canst not tell whence it cometh, nor whither it goeth; so is every one that is born of the Spirit." The wind is invisible. Its existence and its direction are perceived only by its effects. Equally true is it, that no mortal eye can scan the essence of the viewless Spirit, or trace his inscrutable pathway. The results which he achieves alone declare his presence and his agency. "The wind bloweth where it listeth," obeying no voice but His who sends it forth and recalls it at his pleasure. So the Holy Spirit is sovereign in his operations, shedding down his influence when and where he deems fit, subject only to the economical arrangements of the Covenant of Redemption. The wind purifies. Air, in perpetual rest, stagnates and becomes noxious. But, set in motion, it dissipates unwholesome exhalations; scatters the clouds that hang on the mountain-tops, and the mists that slumber in the valleys; uncovers the azure face of heaven, and opens to the ken of the observer a clear and far-spreading horizon. In like manner, the Holy Spirit cleanses the soul from pollution, purges from its eye the film of sin, and enables it to look out, in the vision of Faith, over the wide landscape of the divine promises, and away into the unveiled regions of immortality. The wind is sometimes charged with tremendous power. The strongest obstacles are as chaff before it. Structures of human skill and pride

topple at its touch. The tall forest bows, and its proudest sons lie uprooted and prostrate; while the vast ocean heaves and tosses, like a seething cauldron, and rolls its frightened billows to the shore. Thus, too, the Holy Spirit is omnipotent and irresistible. No opposition from earth or hell can defeat his purpose, or stay his progress. And this all-subduing energy was specially manifest in that pure, fresh youth of the Church, when the Celestial Paraclete was first given to be her Leader and Champion. Before his invincible onset, Jewish prejudice, and pagan superstition, and infidel philosophy went down, like grass before the scythe of the mower; and Christianity, victorious through Him, swept over the civilized world, and trode, with giant step, the high places of the earth. How well and fitly might such an influence be symbolized by a mighty rushing wind!

Not less expressive was the other emblem. The central light, shining in the room where the disciples were gathered, and sending out its beams in every direction, was a token that the Divine Presence was now withdrawn from the ancient Holy Place, and transferred to the new Sanctuary of the Gospel; that in the perpetual indwelling and operation of the Comforter, the Church was now to find the true Shekinah; and that from his fulness all her graces and triumphs were to flow. The lambent flames, resting on the apostles and their coadjutors in the form of tongues, indicated that through the oral utterance of truth by them, and by the living ministry that should come after them, the Spirit would carry forward his conquests; and that it was the permanent ordinance of God, designed for all lands and for all ages, to "save by the foolishness of preaching them that believe." And the element of which these tongues appeared to be composed, denoted the two grand qualities, light and heat, by which all the gifts of the Spirit are characterized. Wherever the influence of this divine Agent is felt, it brings with it knowledge, love to God, zeal for his cause, and a warm and active compassion for the sins and miseries of men. Thus Light and Love—intelligent views of the gospel, and fervent desire for its extension—are the peculiar and prominent fruits of the Spirit.

The nature and import of the miracle having now been considered, the effect on the disciples, by which it was immediately followed, will next require a brief examination. "And they were all filled with the Holy Ghost, and began to speak with other tongues, as the Spirit gave them utterance."

Two results are here described—the one inward, the other



outward. "They were all filled with the Holy Ghost." His illuminating, strengthening, and vivifying energies took entire possession of their minds and of their hearts, penetrating and occupying every faculty of their intellectual and moral being. It was not a mere sprinkling of the Spirit—a few scattered drops of his influence—but a baptism, a flood, overwhelming, surrounding, pervading them, and completely engrossing them with its life-giving element. O what a change must have passed over their perceptions and their feelings! How did their carnal prepossessions, and their vain hopes of a secular theocracy vanish like the shadows of twilight before the orb of day! With what clearness did they now see that their Master had come, not to establish an earthly throne, but to set up a spiritual kingdom in the hearts of renewed and sanctified men! How did their views of his character and office brighten and expand; their love for him, and their zeal in his service, break forth and glow with all-absorbing intensity! Gone were their doubts, and waverings, and fears. Instinct with new power, and burning with a courage and faith not of earth, they beheld, with eager desire, the career of conflict, and triumph, and martyrdom which lay before them, and the immortal crowns that awaited them beyond. Emotions so deep and over-mastering must find expression; and they begin to communicate to each other the new ideas and sensations, which were crowding so thickly upon them; when, lo! they speak with other tongues, as the Spirit gives them utterance. Illiterate fishermen and peasants, accustomed only to the corrupt dialect of Galilee, pour forth their fervid thoughts in languages which they had never studied, and to whose very sound they had perhaps never before listened.

We have now arrived at a fact, which it is exceedingly difficult for us to comprehend, but which, nevertheless, stands clearly recorded on the page of inspiration. Efforts have been made to show that the statement before us does not teach that the disciples actually employed languages of which they had formerly no knowledge; but that, animated by the high and entrancing conceptions which broke upon their minds, they expressed their feelings in a strain of unwonted eloquence, and with a force and elevation of manner wholly foreign to their previous habits. But such a paring down of Scripture to accommodate it to a theory, is as uncritical as it is irreverent. The sacred narrative plainly and unequivocally declares, that "they spoke with other tongues;" and by no fair rule of interpretation can this announcement be understood in any other sense, than that they literally used languages different from

that which was native to them. Our Lord, in one of his last interviews with the apostles, when unfolding to them the nature of their future work, and the qualifications for it which they should receive, explicitly assured them that they should "speak with new tongues." And in the record we are now examining, the surprise and astonishment, which this miracle excited among the multitude, are distinctly ascribed to the fact, that each individual of the varied nations there represented heard the apostles speak in his own language. We cannot therefore escape the conclusion, that the Holy Ghost conferred on them the power of so communicating their thoughts in languages which they had never learned, as to be intelligible to those with whom those languages were vernacular. What, then, were the objects designed to be secured by this wonderful endowment?

One of these doubtless was, that it might furnish a demonstration of the divine origin of the gospel; of the authority of the apostles as its appointed heralds; and of the presence and power of the Spirit to aid them in its promulgation. That persons of their training and pursuits should be able to discourse freely in dialects, which it was impossible they could have acquired by any previous study or practice, was so plainly miraculous, that no one who witnessed it, unless he were given over to incurable blindness and obduracy, could fail to recognize in it the direct agency of God, and to acknowledge that men thus gifted must be inspired and taught from on high. Hence we find that, throughout the New Testament history, the possession of such power is uniformly regarded as the result of special Divine communication. Whenever the extraordinary influences of the Spirit were imparted to the newly converted, this faculty was generally their immediate concomitant, the medium of their expression, and the seal of their reality.\* And even in the later periods of its exercise, when, under a modified form, it seems to have been used chiefly for the utterance of elevated religious thought and feeling within the bosom of the Christian communities themselves,† it still bore the same impress of celestial inspiration, and was no less an infallible testimony to the truth of the gospel. Thus the apostle Paul, referring to the prediction of Isaiah,‡ that "with other tongues and with other lips" God would proclaim the message of his grace, declares that "tongues are for a sign, not for them that believe, but for them that believe not."§ In other words, they were

\* Acts x. 46; xix. 5.

† Isa. xxviii. 11.

‡ 1 Cor. xii. 10, 28, 30; xiv. 2, 4, 5, 39.

§ 1 Cor. xiv. 22.

intended as the witness of the Holy Ghost, addressed to the world at large, and attesting, with a distinctness and certainty which no dulness could mistake, and no sophistry pervert, that Christianity was from heaven, and that its teachers were sent by God. And although the gift itself ceased when the age of miracles disappeared, yet the authenticated record of its bestowment survives, transmitting its evidence to all countries and to all climes.

Another purpose, which this power was adapted to subserve, may be found in the facilities which it gave the disciples for publishing the tidings of salvation among the different nations of the earth. How far it was actually employed in connection with this object, the Scriptural accounts of the early propagation of the gospel do not inform us. In Palestine it could not have been necessary; for there the Aramaic, the native tongue of the apostles, was the general language of the inhabitants. From certain expressions of the evangelists, it has sometimes been supposed that the dialect spoken in Galilee differed essentially from that which was current in Judea. But this difference consisted only in the mode of pronunciation, and in the occasional use of foreign words. The Galilean dialect was more affected by the Syriac, and had a broader and ruder accent, than that of the Jewish metropolis; and, therefore, appeared to the inhabitants of the latter less polished than their own. It was, however, perfectly intelligible to them. In most of the Gentile countries, where the gospel was preached during the period over which the history of the New Testament extends, Greek was the prevailing language; and as the work of evangelization in these countries was prosecuted chiefly through the instrumentality of Paul, and as he had doubtless learned Greek in his childhood at Tarsus, it is difficult to say to what extent he was assisted by the miraculous gift of tongues. From the fact that the sacred writers, in describing the spread of Christianity, seldom relate the particular circumstances which attended it, this whole subject is involved in no little obscurity. Yet thus much we may safely affirm, that not only did the primitive ambassadors of the cross receive direct aid from the Holy Spirit in the suggestion and announcement of their message, but that whenever and wherever they were called to address men whose language they did not understand, the faculty of speaking in that language was at once imparted. Less than this we cannot suppose without violence to the plain meaning of Scripture.

One more design of the gift of tongues may be traced in



its symbolical import. It was a type of the free and unrestricted nature of our holy religion. Language is the great bond of human brotherhood. The possession of a common language will unite, by a common interest, nations however remote, tribes however scattered; while the want of it creates an almost impassable barrier between lands that are contiguous. Originally, men all spoke the same language. But as a punishment for their presumptuous sin at Babel, their language was confounded; in consequence of which, they broke into alienated and hostile bands, and were dispersed over the face of the earth. And as their numbers increased, and empires were founded, the diversity of languages was still the chief cause of separation and discord. Those who spoke one language looked with scorn or hatred on all who spoke a different. The Greek regarded all who were not Greeks as barbarians. The Jew deemed the whole world, beyond the circle of his own mother-tongue, as outcast from God, and abandoned to hopeless reprobation. Now in the Pentecostal gift, by which pardon and salvation through a crucified Redeemer were proclaimed, at the same time, in many varying languages, there was a significant and beautiful emblem that Christianity had come to take away this narrowness and seclusion. Judaism knew but one language. Christianity is equally at home in all. She belongs to no tribe—is confined to no territory. All climes and ages are her own. Her sphere is the world; her kindred the human race. And this universality in her adaptation is strikingly prefigured by the fact, that her first utterances, under the teachings of the Spirit, published to every listener, “in his own tongue wherein he was born, the wonderful works of God.” She is thus the centre of union to our divided humanity, the point of coalescence to its widely scattered fragments, and the restorer of its lost fraternity. And thus, in the general spread of the gospel, we see a day approaching, when “the whole earth” shall again be “of one language and of one speech,”—not, it may be, in the use of the same articulate sounds and written symbols, but in the knowledge of the one language of renewed hearts—the worship of the one Jehovah, and faith in the one Saviour, his only-begotten Son.

Such was the time, and such the scene, in which the Holy Paraclete entered on His mission to carry into effect the provisions of redeeming love. To His agency all the early conquests of the gospel are to be ascribed. But He did not leave the earth when the age of mighty signs and wonders was no more. All that was miraculous and incidental in the

form of His manifestation was indeed withdrawn; but all that was essential and efficacious remained. In every succeeding period, He has been the pillar of cloud and of fire that has gone before the people of Christ, and heralded them on to victory. He is still at the head of the sacramental host, reproving their delays, inciting them to fresh advances, and, in every onward movement, sweeping all enemies from their path. He is as ready to display His power now as in primitive times. Were Christians of the present day but prepared for His visits, as were the first disciples, the glories of Pentecost would soon return. O, then, let each seek the Spirit's influence for himself, for his brethren, for the unconverted crowds around him. And from every heart let the prayer go up, that the scene of His triumphs may extend and widen, until He shall move over the whole circumference of this disordered globe, as once He moved over the face of its primeval waters—dispelling its darkness, and breathing upon its entire expanse light, life, holiness, and peace.

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ART. III.—ON THE SIGNIFICATION OF *πρίσις*, ROM. VIII. 19–22.

For the earnest expectation of the creature (*τῆς κτίσεως*) waiteth for the manifestation of the sons of God. For the creature (*ἡ κτίσις*) was made subject to vanity, not willingly, but by reason of him who hath subjected the same in hope: because the creature (*ἡ κτίσις*) itself also shall be delivered from the bondage of corruption into the glorious liberty of the children of God. (*Received Version.*)

PROFESSOR STUART, in his Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans, and in the *Biblical Repository*, vol. I. p. 363, enumerates no fewer than eleven different significations which have been attached to the term *πρίσις* in the above passage. The larger part of these will not, however, require any long consideration. To name is to answer many of them. No one will be in danger now of supposing that it refers to “the souls of the planets,” as Origen held, or “angels” “good” or “bad,” or “Adam and Eve,” or “the souls of believers,” or their “bodies.”

The opinion that it denotes “Christians,” (either Jewish or Gentile, or Christians in general,) though upheld by Barnes and some besides, would otherwise seem but little entitled to consideration, since in the 19th verse the *πρίσις* is carefully distinguished from the sons of God, for whose manifestation it

is represented as waiting. So also, after in the 22d verse representing it as groaning and travailing in pain, the apostle adds, in the 23d verse, "*And not only so, but ourselves also who have the first-fruits of the Spirit.*" Here Christians are plainly distinguished from the *πρίους*.

To obviate this last objection, some have indeed supposed the clause, "we who have the first-fruits of the Spirit," to mean not Christians in general, but "we who are endowed with miraculous powers." Such an interpretation, however, is far fetched; for those endowments could confer no such special happiness as might be supposed to exempt their possessors from the longings common to all the children of God after a more perfect state, or afford a reason why they should be separately specified from all other Christians. If the context were not sufficient to exclude this sense, the term itself would hardly endure so forced and unwonted a signification. It never is so used, except in connection with *καίνη*, "new creature," nor is it easy to conceive how it could be.

There are, then, but three views, according to Professor Stuart's catalogue, which remain to be considered. I. That *πρίους* here refers to unconverted men in distinction from the sons of God; or, II. Mankind in general; or, III. The irrational creation.

I. In favor of the first opinion, *i. e.*, that the term in question refers to *unconverted men*, it is urged that it and the corresponding word *בְּרִיָּה* in Rabbinic Hebrew are sometimes used derogatively, as for the heathen, or any degraded individual or class; just as in English it is vulgarly said, "The creature refused to be instructed." It is also said that *πρίους* is here put in contrast with "those who have received the first-fruits of the Spirit," and must therefore refer to the unconverted.

But it will determine us against this construction of the passage, to remember, 1st. That this, though a possible, would be a very forced rendering of the term. 2d. That the apostle does not *contrast* "those who have received the first-fruits of the Spirit" with the *πρίους*, but only advances from one specification to another. "And not only so, but we who have the first-fruits of the Spirit, even we ourselves groan," &c. 3d. Nor, further, is there any reason why it should be specially predicated of the unconverted that they are subjected to frailty, while the rest of mankind are equally so.

In deciding between the two remaining opinions, (and it is between these that the great body of sound critics are divided,) nothing decisive can be argued from the term employed. Nor



is the general train of thought very much affected by either interpretation. The subject of the apostle's remark is clearly expressed in the 18th verse: "The sufferings of the present time are not worthy to be compared with the glory" which shall follow. In the four or five subsequent verses, St. Paul enlarges upon the glory which shall follow at the manifestation of the sons of God, representing it as so great that the whole creation, and even Christians, are anxiously waiting for the event.

II. Shall we then understand by the whole creation here, *that mankind in general are earnestly awaiting this period*, or consider it a bold *prosopopœia*, by which the earth, the sea, and the whole of the irrational creation are represented as anxiously looking for the removal of the curse, and a participation in man's glory? Either of these views may comport in a measure with the apostle's object; which most appropriately and forcibly, we shall see hereafter.

1st. *In favor of the former of these it may be said, (a.) That it well agrees with the usus loquendi*, as the term is frequently used in the New Testament for mankind only, apart from the irrational creation. Thus, Mark x. 6: "From the beginning of the creation (*κτίσεως*) God made them male and female. For this cause shall a man leave his father and his mother, and cleave to his wife." Here *the creation* seems plainly to refer to the creation, not of the earth, sea, air, which are not male and female, nor yet irrational animals, but of mankind. Again, in Col. i. 23, the same terms are employed as in the 22d verse of this chapter to assert that "the gospel was preached to *every creature* (*πᾶσιν τῇ κτίσει*) which is under heaven;" as also in Mark xvi. 15: "Preach the gospel to *every creature*." In these cases, "*mankind*" is plainly intended, not the irrational creation; and why, it is asked, may it not be so used here? "All human creatures sigh together and are in anguish even to the present time."

(b.) It is urged also in favor of this view, that *such are the feelings of mankind*. There is in man naturally a longing after immortality, and an expectation of a higher, better state of existence. In support of this, heathen writers are appealed to. Numerous passages from Cicero, Seneca, and other authors, have been quoted, and easily might be multiplied, in proof of this general longing and expectation.

(c.) This sense, it is said, also well agrees with the apostle's argument, since it would tend greatly to support our hopes in the future state, that the expectation of it was universally felt by mankind, and that their frail and unhappy condition

evidently pointed to it. This view of the passage is supported by McKnight, Lightfoot, Locke, Stuart, Whitby, and others.

2d. *Many objections*, however, are made to such an interpretation. (a.) It is urged by Tholuck that *the κρίσις is here represented as expecting a specific Scriptural event*—the manifestation of the sons of God, the resurrection; not a vague, unknown immortality; that the two are altogether different, so that the desire of mankind for the one is totally different from the longing here described after the other, to which the mass of mankind do not look forward with hope.

But this objection is hardly conclusive, for, as Professor Stuart remarks, "It is not necessary for the apostle's argument to show that they look for this (a future state) in the way that Christianity would direct them to do, nor even that they have good grounds personally to expect a happier condition in future. If even the wicked who love the world are not satisfied with it, and are made to sigh after another and more perfect state, then follows the conclusion which the apostle designed to urge, *i. e.*, that God has strongly impressed on our whole race, that there is a better state, and that it is highly needed."

(b.) With more force it is objected, that *it is not here the object of the apostle to prove in any way the doctrine of a future existence, but only to heighten our conceptions of this state*, already firmly credited. The theme is, "our present sufferings are not worthy of *comparison* with the glory which shall follow." The force of subsequent passages, according to Professor Stuart's supposition, is to prove a truth fully believed in. But according to the other opinion, *i. e.*, that the whole fabric of nature is to be renovated in sympathy with this manifestation of the sons of God, our conceptions of future glory are heightened, and present sufferings shown unworthy of comparison with it.

(c.) A further objection is drawn by Mr. Hodge from the 20th verse: "For the creature was made subject to vanity, not willingly, but by reason of him [that is, God, according to Mr. H.] who hath subjected the same in hope that the creature should be delivered," &c. It is argued that it cannot be said of man, that he was brought into his present state not by his own act or willingly. "Nothing approaching this can be said of the world of sinners." But this is strained. For however voluntarily he committed that which subjected him to this state of frailty, yet this frailty was the unwished-for effect of his own conduct.

(d.) There is, however, a different construction of this verse, much to be preferred on many accounts to the common one, and offering a far more forcible objection to this interpretation. Let the passage be read thus: "The longing expectation of the creature waiteth for the manifestation of the sons of God, (for the creature was made subject to vanity, not willingly, but by reason of him who subjected it,) in hope that the creature," &c. Thus the *πίσις* is represented as waiting in hope, having been subjected to frailty by the evil conduct of man. This better accords with the general Scripture representation: "Cursed is the ground for thy sake." "Because they have transgressed the law, therefore the curse hath devoured the land." "How long shall the land mourn, and the herbs of every field wither for the wickedness of them that dwell therein?" Thus regarded, this verse will offer a very serious difficulty to Professor Stuart's reading of *πίσις*; for if he who subjected the *πίσις* be man, the *πίσις* subjected must, it should seem, be something besides man, the irrational creature, primarily at least.

(e.) Again, it is a strong objection to this view of the term, as has been remarked in considering another interpretation, that a very clear distinction is made between the *πίσις* and Christians. Thus, in the 19th verse, it is represented as "waiting for the manifestation of *the sons of God*." "The whole creation groaneth and travaileth in pain together until now, and *not only so, but ourselves also*." Surely, this must forbid the idea that *πίσις* here not only embraces but is very largely made up of the sons of God.

(f.) Further, the representation here is that the *πίσις* shall partake of the glorious liberty of the sons of God; for it is plain the apostle does not mean to assert that the most of mankind were expecting to partake of it, only to be disappointed. But it is not the case that mankind as a whole will participate in the felicities of heaven.

III. We come, then, at length, to consider the interpretation which supposes this term to mean *the irrational creation as a whole*. This is on many accounts greatly preferable to the one last mentioned. It is the most obvious and generally received opinion; is the view of Chrysostom, Theodoret, and others among the early commentators; Erasmus, Grotius and Luther in the sixteenth century, and Platt, Tholuck, Scott and Hodge of the present day.

It also seems to give a more appropriate and dignified sense to these verses. To heighten our conceptions of the glorious period to which he refers, the apostle, by a prosopo-



poëia well suited to the strength of his vigorous ideas, represents the whole creation with outstretched neck awaiting the removal of the curse, and watching for the manifestation of the sons of God. How sublime a sense is this. How frigid the others we have examined, compared to it.

And it well coincides with the general representations of Scripture, which constantly speak of nature as sympathizing in the glory of man. "The wilderness and the solitary place shall be glad for them, and the desert shall rejoice and blossom as the rose. The wolf also shall dwell with the lamb, and the leopard shall lie down with the kid, and the calf, and the young lion, and the fatling together, and a little child shall lead them." So also in Rev. xxi. 1: "I saw a new heaven and a new earth." If, as Professor Stuart insists, we must take this language as merely figurative, and not at all to be literally fulfilled, it may be replied that there can be nothing improper in construing St. Paul's representation as equally metaphorical. But however figurative some of these passages may be, taken in connection with others they teach a renovation of the earth corresponding to the future holiness of the redeemed.

Thus Heb. xii. 26, 27: "He hath promised, saying, Yet once more I shake not the earth only, but also heaven. And this word, Yet once more, signifieth the removing of those things which are shaken, as of things that are made, that those things which cannot be shaken may remain." Again in the second of Peter, iii. 12, 13: "The heavens being on fire shall be dissolved, and the elements shall melt with fervent heat. Nevertheless we, according to his promise, look for *a new heaven and a new earth, wherein dwelleth righteousness*." Let this language be considered in connection with Acts xiii. 21, where "the restitution of all things" is spoken of. This renovation of physical nature is to be as real and literal, then, as the destruction of the old world by water. Yet Professor Stuart would avoid the force of these passages by saying, "To draw the conclusion that a new creation of the heaven and the earth means here a new literal creation made out of the old one, and differing from the first only in degree of perfection, would be the same as to argue that because the Bible represents a Christian man as being born again, raised from the dead, created anew, therefore his spiritual change in regeneration is to be regarded as being literally one."

If indeed the doctrine of the renovation of the earth needed confirmation after the passages which have been adduced, reference might be made to the universal belief of the Jews on this point. Or it might be said that since the beginning of

time, no particle of matter has ever been annihilated ; that we might safely believe therefore that the world will ever exist in some state ; that geology shows us that it has already undergone a series of improving changes, and that consequently it seems highly probable that after a more thorough purification by fire, it shall exhibit a beauty and order to which it has not yet attained. It is not asserted who shall then inhabit this world, further than that therein shall dwell "righteousness;" that physical nature shall sympathize and partake in the glory of the manifestation of the sons of God, as she has long been subjected to vanity by the fall of man.

It has been objected that the figure is too strong, unnatural, unlike the apostle. But it certainly is one that is constantly occurring in the sublimest parts of the sacred writings. "Let the heavens rejoice, and let the earth be glad." "Let the field be joyful, and all that is therein." "Then shall all the trees of the wood rejoice." "The mountains and hills shall break forth before you into singing, and all the trees of the field shall clap their hands." One of the most chaste and eloquent of modern writers, Robert Hall, in the so much admired passage in his sermon on the death of the Princess Charlotte, carries out to greater length the same kind of figure ; when speaking of the loss of a single soul, he says, "Were the whole fabric of nature to become *animated and vocal*, would it be possible for her to utter a groan too deep, or a cry too piercing to express the magnitude and extent of such a catastrophe?"

Finally, it is urged by Professor Stuart, that by this interpretation, Christians are represented as in a frail and dying state, and earnestly desiring to be delivered from it ; so also is the natural world, yet the world of rational beings in general who are not regenerated are not even mentioned. This objection has weight.

IV. The fairest way seems to be to regard *πτίσις* as signifying the *irrational creation inclusively and primarily, but not altogether to the exclusion of human beings* ; who also join in the universal anxiety of expectation. None of the difficulties belonging to an exclusive application of this term to men as distinct from the rest of creation will apply to this interpretation. Two only of the objections could be supposed to do so ; namely, those marked (e.) and (f.)

In regard to the former, *i.e.*, that in the 19th and 23d verses, a distinction is taught between the *πτίσις* and believers, and therefore that we may not adopt any interpretation of *πτίσις* which will embrace them, if it be considered that believers form but a small part of mankind, and mankind only a small

part of the creation, it can afford us no surprise that they should be brought out from so subordinate a position, and their feelings as a distinct class recorded.

In regard to the only remaining difficulty (*f.*)—that the *πρίους* is represented impliedly as actually partaking of the glorious liberty of the sons of God,—it will be sufficiently true of the *πρίους as a whole* fully to justify the remark,—of the irrational creation entirely, and of all the good who form *the type* of humanity.

This view of the sense of the above term seems free from every objection, and furnishes the sense most exactly in accordance with the general views of the apostle and the scope of this particular passage.

T. F. C.

*Ala.*

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#### ART. IV.—THE WORKS OF LEONARD WOODS.

*The Works of Leonard Woods, D.D., lately Professor of Christian Theology in the Theological Seminary, Andover, Mass.* In five volumes. Boston: John P. Jewitt & Co. 1851.

WE have here instruction from the right source. Dr. Woods comes before the Christian public, not as a mere adventurer in authorship, nor as proclaiming any peculiar or novel system. He announces no new philosophy, no new theology. He proposes simply to state and to vindicate what he regards as the truths of the Bible—truths which he is glad to believe have often been stated before, and which are endeared to him by the very fact that they are known to have nourished the piety and to have cheered the hearts of multitudes of the followers of Christ in different ages. He has done what will need to be repeated for every future generation; he has re-written the doctrines of the Christian's faith, subjected them to a new and independent investigation, in view of all the vaunted discoveries of science, as well as with reference to the various new objections which the ever-busy ingenuity of infidelity and human depravity is constantly devising. He has done this for the nineteenth century, and for American Christians. This has been done neither by Calvin nor Turretine; neither by Ridgely, Gill, Fuller, Chalmers nor Edwards, though all, for the most part, concurring in the same general system of belief.

These productions of Dr. Woods seem to be in some re-



spects the result of necessity rather than of choice. Instead of being previously planned and designed by himself, they seem rather to have been planned and designed for him by a higher purpose and foresight than his own. Instead of being intended for any particular occasion or emergency, they have been called forth by a great variety of occasions occurring within the last half century, and which an all-wise and overruling Providence alone could have directed and controlled. Among these writings we find Sermons, illustrative of various practical duties, and pervaded by a spirit of deep and enlightened piety; and while they include pieces which involve controversies of the most profound and important character, they are nevertheless admirably free from a controversial spirit. But the most systematic and elaborate elucidation of the cardinal truths of divine revelation is to be found in the Lectures delivered to his students in the regular course of theological instruction. Here we have the results of long experience and of a careful investigation of the Scriptures, from one who has been compelled, from the nature of his duties, to review his work year after year, for many years in succession, and who has had an opportunity to hear every variety of objection and argument in relation to the subjects of which he treats. These Lectures will be read with special interest by all who truly love the gospel. The churches of Christ have a right to feel the deepest solicitude in reference to the instruction and training of those who are to be the future teachers of religion, and who are to be sent forth into the world intrusted with the fulfilment of the great commission. Accordingly, when they have appointed an individual to the responsible task of aiding in such training and instruction, they have made, by this very fact, the highest appeal to his fidelity, and may expect from him the utmost candor and impartiality in dealing with the oracles of God. Can such an individual fail to be sensible of his responsibility? Will he not have solemn thought in relation to the important class which he is to instruct; the consequences, for good or evil, of the influence which he is to exert upon them; the danger of poisoning with error minds then destined to poison others in their turn; and the great good which may follow to unborn millions, if the labors of a long life could result in imparting even to a single mind the true spirit and impress of the doctrines of the Bible? Will not such a one continually seek light and guidance from above? Will he not study with prayerful candor the sacred records? Will he allow himself to be bribed by interest or swayed by prejudice? Will he

not feel that he is amenable to a higher tribunal than that of man? Will the love of station or pride of opinion prevent him from receiving and announcing any doctrine, however new to himself, which he may find clearly taught by divine revelation? Will he turn away from the truth of the Bible, surcharged with the energy of spiritual life, and content himself with the stale and vapid formulas of a creed? Will he consent to be the mere champion of a sect, and be satisfied to perpetuate his influence with a party, by making it the business of his life to advocate their peculiar dogmas, and to deal out bitterness and invective against their real or imaginary foes? Alas! such is poor human nature, that, even under all this pressing weight of responsibility, one may prove recreant to his high trust. Piety and station are by no means inseparable. Fidelity and obligation have not always the same degree of strength. But should an individual thus situated be found delinquent, then the Bible has no truth within its folds, and the church of Christ no station within her gift, that can make to him any higher appeal. But Dr. Woods has presented to us his own vindication. He has had the rare blessing of being permitted, while in the enjoyment of sound health and a vigorous intellect, to revise and to arrange with his own hand the labors of nearly half a century. He has laid before his brethren and the Christian public the present edition of his works, and from this specimen of his labors he is willing they shall form their own estimate of the manner in which he has spent his life, and discharged the duties of his highly responsible station. We venture to say that no disappointment will be felt. He leaves a rich legacy to the churches of Christ, and has opened a source of instruction adapted to impart light and stability to the Christian ministry for many years to come.

We congratulate the institution in which the author has so long instructed on the appearance of these volumes. They illustrate the healthful character of its influence, and may be regarded as among its own fruits. Indeed, we have never supposed that the good which theological institutions are to accomplish is to be limited merely to the work of training a class of young men, to be sent forth every year into the ministry, however important and necessary such a work may be. We have supposed it to be among the highest benefits of these institutions, that they are nurseries of sacred learning; that they sustain men whose sole employment is to study the original records of divine revelation, to guard them with sleepless vigilance, and to explain and vindicate afresh, for every

generation, the great doctrines and duties of religion. Viewed in this light, the utility of theological institutions will be questioned by no considerate mind. For a long period, the Princeton and Andover institutions were our only theological schools. Had it not been for these—we cannot disguise the fact—our country could never have been what it now is, either as to its literary character, or its moral and religious condition. Andover has sent forth throughout New-England, and Princeton throughout the Middle, the Southern, and the Western States, a conservative and life-giving element, in the character of those who were to occupy the station of Christian pastors; and through the men of learning whom they have raised up and sustained, as well as in the works which these have published, they have diffused a general taste for Biblical studies, erected an impregnable rampart against infidelity, and caused the literature of our country to be respected in the highest Universities of Europe. The works before us will do honor to the American mind. The author has, with great propriety, dedicated them to his pupils, among whom are numbered some of our most devoted pastors in different denominations, as well as Professors of high distinction in various institutions of learning. Many of these are in the Baptist denomination. It is well known that the first Professors of the Newton Institution, as well as those who still constitute its Board of Instruction, were from the Andover school. The same is true, we believe, of the distinguished author of the *Elements of Moral Science*, who has done more for the training of American youth, and we may say for the education of the American conscience, than any author now living.

We shall first notice, briefly, the contents of each volume, after which we shall be obliged to confine our remarks to a selection of topics, as a specific review of each performance would extend this article beyond proper limits.

Volume first opens with a Dedicatory Address, in which the author indulges in some reminiscences, of both a pleasing and solemn character. From a review of the past, he looks forward to the future with feelings which at once exhibit his confidence in truth, and his firm and unfaltering faith in God. After enumerating the various circumstances adapted to awaken fearful forebodings, he says: "So far as I look merely at fallen man—yea, at man in his best estate—the prospect is dark and fearful. But my heart is soon cheered by better thoughts. I hear the voice of Him who has all power in heaven and earth saying, 'Fear not.' He assures me that



the time of his universal reign draws near; that the world for which he died shall be redeemed; that the prayers of his saints shall be answered, and their labors and sufferings rewarded; and that his peaceful and holy kingdom shall come. These blessed assurances raise me above my gloomy apprehensions. What the Lord hath promised to do shall be done; 'not a jot or tittle shall fail.'"

In the first eight Lectures, students of divinity will find useful instruction as to the right prosecution of theological study. They are fully apprised that many of the subjects to come under their notice are incomprehensible, though none of them contradictory to reason. They are instructed, also, as to the right application of reason in theological investigations; the importance of adhering implicitly to whatever is proved on sufficient evidence, however incomprehensible; as to the use and explanation of theological terms; the dangers of analogical reasoning, and the importance of system in the treatment of theological subjects.

The next six Lectures are on the Inspiration of the Scriptures, the substance of which has already been laid before the public, in a small volume published by the author some years since. The reader will find here a much safer view of Inspiration than can be derived from such a work as Morell on the Philosophy of Religion; safer than that which seems to be favored even by a writer so distinguished as Neander. The remainder of the volume is occupied with a consideration of the Existence and Attributes of God; the Humanity, Pre-existence, Deity, and Sonship of Christ; the Divinity and Personality of the Holy Spirit, and the Divine Purposes, comprising in all forty-one Lectures.

The second volume, comprising forty-five Lectures, treats of the doctrines of Divine Providence, Moral Agency, Human Depravity, the Atonement, and Regeneration. The Lectures on Human Depravity have before been published in the form of an essay, for which the author was awarded a premium, according to an offer made by Mr. John Dunlap, of Edinburgh, Scotland. The judges were Jeremiah Day, President of Yale College; Edward D. Griffin, President of Williams College; and Heman Humphrey, President of Amherst College. In the Lectures some additions are made to the essay, and its main positions are strengthened.

In the third volume, the subject of Regeneration is continued. Here, also, the author treats of the nature of Christian Virtue, of Repentance, Faith, Justification, the Perseverance of the Saints, the Resurrection, Endless Punishment,—with the ob-

jections of John Foster,—Christian Ordinances, Infant Baptism, the Lord's Supper, the Christian Sabbath, Church Government, Prelacy and the Liturgy, Congregationalism and Presbyterianism. This volume, which contains forty-two Lectures, closes with a consideration of the necessity of personal religion to ministers.

Volume fourth contains Letters to Unitarians, a reply to Dr. Ware's Letters to Trinitarians and Calvinists, Remarks on Dr. Ware's Answer, Letters to Dr. N. W. Taylor of New-Haven, an Examination of the Doctrine of Perfection, a Dissertation on Miracles, and a general outline of the course of theological study pursued at Andover, with reference to books to be consulted. The contents of this and a large part of the fifth volume have already been before the public in some form.

Volume fifth contains Letters to Young Ministers, a treatise on the Philosophy of the Human Mind, Remarks on Cause and Effect in connection with Fatalism and Free Agency, a Reply to "Inquirer" on the same subject, a Dissertation on the Efficacy of the Word of God; Sermons in three series: 1st. Funeral Sermons; 2d. Ordination Sermons; 3d. Sermons on Various Subjects, Doctrinal and Practical.

No one will suppose that any just conception can be given of the value of these writings by this brief summary. We commend the works as a whole, with great cordiality and confidence, to our readers. Different estimates will be placed on different parts; and if we are occasionally compelled to withhold our assent from some of the positions taken, we shall nevertheless be edified by noticing the manner in which they are dealt with by a mind of no ordinary power.

The author's strength does not appear in his Sermons; they are wanting in the rigid analysis of an Emmons, and in the energy and power of an Edwards; yet his metaphysical discussions are rarely excelled by any thing to be found in the English language. His treatise on the Philosophy of the Human Mind and his essays on Human Agency are deserving of special attention, and should be carefully and thoroughly studied by theological students.

Order of arrangement does not seem to have been specially regarded in these volumes. This is doubtless owing to the diversity of circumstances in which their various parts originated, and to the fact that the author does not profess to have submitted them as forming one connected work. But even in his Lectures we do not find that skill of arrangement which we expected from a writer of so much ability. The proportions of a grand and imposing edifice are not so distinctly

visible as they are in the productions of Dick or Turretine. The author has nowhere intimated his conception of the connection and harmony which reign in the great system of religious truth. Even such an outline as Edwards has given us in his *History of Redemption* he has nowhere sketched. He has furnished many strong beams and massive pillars, but he has not sufficiently designated the position which they are to occupy. He has not done all for the temple of truth which the workmen of Solomon, in the forest of Lebanon, did for the temple of Jerusalem. When all his materials are brought together, some important parts will be entirely wanting, and those which are furnished will need the use of the hammer, the axe, or the iron tool, before they can be properly adjusted to each other. He can turn off as much work and as good work as any other man, when a definite task is assigned him ; but an architectural talent does not seem to be a distinguishing characteristic of his mind. The various subjects are rather approached as separate and independent essays, than evolved as in the regular development of a great plan. We may find in the writings of Dr. Woods as fine specimens of reasoning and theological discussion as we can meet with in the pages of Turretine ; but Turretine had a system in which each part was so arranged as to increase the strength and beauty of the other. Turretine would not have discussed the unlikeness of man to God, before he had described the character of either God or man ; he would not have treated of an upholding and governing Providence, before he had found a creation to be upheld and governed ; he would not have treated of human depravity, without having noticed the previous Scriptural fact of human apostasy ; nor would he have discussed the great subject of the atonement, without having considered the nature of that inflexible justice which rendered an atonement necessary. It ought to be stated, however, that Dr. Woods informs us in his preface that he has intentionally omitted in his publications several of the common topics of theology, which were considered in the lecture-room, as these are so ably treated by other authors. This should disarm criticism, but cannot silence the regrets of those who are partial to this mode of elucidating truth. It would have been especially gratifying to have seen an article on Creation from his pen, at a period when the Mosaic narrative in relation to the origin of the world and of man is arraigned before the bar of science ; when a false philosophy is proclaiming with one breath, that God is a cause, *absolute* in such a sense that he cannot but create, and in the next



breath, that he cannot create at all ; that creation from nothing is impossible, and that the only creation that exists is but a development of the Deity ; at a time when the spirit of Spinoza is obtaining a resurrection in Europe, and he is hailed as the profoundest philosopher and theologian ; at a time when the German mind seems to be divided between Pantheism and Idealism, two systems extremely contradictory to each other in many respects, but, as opposite errors often do, converging at last in the same point, both agreeing to identify God with his works.

The style of the author may be recommended as a model of its kind. It is well adapted for either metaphysical or theological discussion. It is free from the turgid ostentation of Chalmers. It delights not in the inverted sentences, quaint expressions, and pretty metaphors so frequently resorted to for the purpose of concealing a wretched paucity and triteness of ideas. It is just such a style that the reader never thinks of it any more than he thinks of the beating of his own pulse ; his attention is at once chained and riveted by the thought.

As to the class of writings to which these productions belong, we think they are fairly entitled to be labelled *Calvinism*. It is Calvinism, however, softened in some of its features ; we do not say improved. Calvinism is never seen to better advantage than when allowed to appear in its original ruggedness. Its style is Gothic ; and to fit it out with Corinthian columns would only spoil its symmetry. As a Calvinist the author has passed through a fiery ordeal, surrounded as he has been by Socinian opponents, but his truth has never been vanquished. In his younger days, indeed, he felt strong, and was disposed to gird himself, and, in reference to some points, could afford to part company even with the Reformers and the Westminster Confession : but as he advanced in years he became willing that others should gird him ; we see him yielding himself again to the embrace of the old standards, and quietly erasing from his *Letters to Unitarians* such a sentence as the following : " It is common for us, when we yield our consent to the Catechism, to do it with an express or implied restriction."

These productions, though highly Biblical in their spirit, may also for the most part be considered as belonging to the department of metaphysical theology. Objections professedly based on the philosophy of the human mind are here answered in a manner corresponding to the demand of the past as well as of the present times. But it has been inti-

mated, by one whose warning voice ought not to be disregarded, that writings of a different character are beginning to be called for, and that theologians, if they would defend the truth against the most dangerous form of error which has yet appeared, must extend their researches more into the field of physical science. At a time when new institutions of learning are rising in our country, and old ones are making important modifications in their course of study, the suggestions of this writer are deserving of serious consideration. So high is his authority and so earnest is his language, that we cannot withhold from our readers some of his expressions, which we submit in the subjoined note.\*

\* In allusion to what he denominates the *law* of development *versus* the *miracle* of creation, the writer above alluded to thus expresses himself:—

"The evangelistic churches cannot, in consistency with their character or with a due regard to the interests of their people, slight or overlook a form of error at once exceedingly plausible and consummately dangerous, and which is telling so widely on society that one can scarce travel by railway or in a steamboat, or encounter a group of intelligent mechanics, without finding decided trace of its ravages.

"But ere the churches can be prepared competently to deal with it, or with the other objections of a similar class which the infidelity of an age so largely engaged as the present in physical pursuits will be from time to time originating, they must greatly extend their educational walks into the field of physical science. The mighty change which has taken place during the present century in the direction in which the minds of the first order are operating, though indicated on the face of the country in characters which cannot be mistaken, seems to have too much escaped the notice of our theologians. Speculative theology and the metaphysics are cognate branches of the same science; and when, as in the last and preceding ages, the higher philosophy of the world was metaphysical, the churches took ready cognizance of the fact, and in due accordance with the requirements of the time the battle of the evidences was fought on metaphysical ground. But judging from the preparations made in their colleges and halls, they do not now seem sufficiently aware—though the low thunder of every railway, and the snort of every steam engine, and the whistle of the wind amid the wires of every electric telegraph, serve to publish the fact—that it is in the departments of physics, not of metaphysics, that the greater minds of the age are engaged; that the Lockes, Humes, Kants, Berkeleys, Dugald Stewarts and Thomas Browns belong to the past; and that the philosophers of the present time, tall enough to be seen all the world over, are the Humboldts, the Aragos, the Agassizes, the Liebiges, the Owens, the Herschels, the Bucklands and the Brewsters. In that educational course through which, in this country, candidates for the ministry pass in preparation for their office, I find every group of great minds which has in turn influenced and directed the mind of Europe for the last three centuries represented, more or less adequately, save the last. It is an epitome of all kinds of learning, with the exception of the kind most imperatively required, because most in accordance with the genius of the time. The restorers of classic literature—the Buchanans and Erasmuses—we see represented in our Universities by the Greek and what are termed the Humanity courses; the Galileos, Boyles, and Newtons, by the Mathematical and Natural Philosophy courses; and the Lockes, Kants, Humes, and Berkeleys, by the Metaphysical course. But the Cuviers, the Huttons, the Cavadishes, and the Watts, with their successors, the practical philosophers of the present age,—men whose achievements in physical science we find marked on the surface of the country in characters which might be read from the moon,—are *not* adequately represented. It would be perhaps more correct to say, that they are not represented at all; and the clergy, as a class, suffer themselves to linger far in the rear of an intelligent and accomplished laity—a full age behind the requirements of the times. Let them not shut their eyes to the danger which is obviously coming. The battle

The student of divinity will find the doctrine of the Trinity treated in these Lectures with great ability. The unity of God, and yet the divinity of Christ and of the Holy Spirit, are proved beyond the shadow of a doubt. Unitarians have charged Trinitarians with representing three to be one and one to be three in precisely the same sense. There is no ground for this charge; such a doctrine would not be above reason, it would be palpably contradictory to reason; it would not be an incomprehensible mystery, but a perfectly clear and comprehensible absurdity. We predicate unity of the divine essence, and trinity of a distinction in that essence, which theologians have long designated by the term personality. These opposite qualities are not predicated of the same subject. We have noticed in the controversy with Dr. Bushnell some alarm among Trinitarians, on hearing the divine *unity* insisted on in the highest and most absolute sense, supposing that this must necessarily conflict with the idea of a trinity; but certain it is that if unity is at all predicable of the divine essence, it cannot be a particular or qualified unity; it is unity in the most absolute sense, or in no sense. Indeed, what perfection can be ascribed to God which is not absolute? Until we are able fully to comprehend the nature of the divine essence, we can have no ground to affirm that the Persons of the Trinity cannot subsist in this essence; and the only reason we have to affirm that they can and do subsist here, must be derived from the Scriptures. If they teach such a doctrine, this should settle the question. But Dr. Woods has made it perfectly clear from the Scriptures, that the Father is God, that the Son is God, that the Holy Spirit is God; and yet that these three are one God. In relation to the personality of the Son, however, we doubt whether his views will be deemed sufficiently explicit. The term person, it is conceded, is used in different senses. Each individual man is denominated a person, inasmuch as he is a separate and distinct individual being. We also vindicate the personality of God, in opposition to Pantheism on the one hand and Idealism on the other. But personality in this sense we consider as one, and as designating a distinct individual essence. But when we speak of the personality of the Father, as con-

of the evidences will have as certainly to be fought on the field of physical science, as it was contested in the last age on that of metaphysics. And on this new arena the combatants will have to employ new weapons, which it will be the privilege of the challenger to choose. The old, opposed to these, would prove of little avail. In an age of muskets and artillery, the bows and arrows of an obsolete school of warfare would be found greatly less than sufficient, in the field of battle, for purpose either of assault or defense."



trusted with the personality of the Son and of the Holy Spirit, the term person is used in a very different and peculiar sense, and by no means designates a distinct individual essence. In God there are not three essences, but we say there are subsisting in Him three persons. These two senses of the word then are so very different, and the distinction between them is so important, that they never ought to be confounded; and it is much to be regretted that we could not avoid applying the same name to ideas so different in their nature. Now no one is more fully aware of this diversity of usage than our author; and he represents Calvin and Augustine as concurring in the statement that the word *persons* "was extorted by necessity on account of the poverty of language on so great a subject, not for the sake of expressing what God is, but to avoid passing it over in total silence that the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost are three." Yet, when he comes to speak of the personality of Christ, he uses language which seems to confound the personality which belongs to the Son as the second person in the Trinity, with the personality of Christ which he has in consequence of his being a true and proper man—a personality which will be denied to him neither by Arian nor Unitarian. Lest we should convey some wrong impression on this point, we here subjoin the author's own language:—

In the second place, the history given of Christ in the four Gospels shows, from the beginning to the end, that he was a true and proper man. And the same is often asserted and every where implied in the Acts and Epistles of the apostles. And if he was a true and proper *man*, he was a true and proper *person*. And surely he was none the less a person because he had attributes above humanity. Where does he speak of himself, and where is he spoken of by others, as though he was not truly and completely a *person*, because of his superhuman nature? If the New Testament does not teach that Christ, the Son of God, is, properly speaking, a *person*, it does not teach the personality of Paul or Peter, and the history of our own country does not teach that either Washington or Hamilton was a *person*. If there can be any satisfactory evidence of the personality of any one, we have such evidence of the personality of the Lord Jesus Christ. And we have equally satisfactory evidence that he is a person distinct from the Father. The supposition that the Father and the Son are one and the same person, is altogether unscriptural and preposterous. If we had nothing but the bare mention of the Father and the Son, we should at once conclude that, in respect to personality, they are distinct from each other—two persons. (Vol. I. p. 42.)

The author is here arguing against Sabellianism, which confounds the personalities of the Father and the Son. He wishes to show that Christ had a personality distinct from that of the Father. Personality in the Trinity, consequently, is the subject of discourse. How does he prove the personality of

Christ in this respect? He first infers it as a logical deduction from the fact that he is a true and proper man; next, he shows that the Scriptures teach that he was a person in the same sense as Peter and Paul were persons; and this is the personality which he compares or contrasts with the personality of the Father. Here he evidently confounds two very different ideas, the divine Hypostasis and the human personality of Christ. The first Christ had from all eternity; the second originated in time. The first subsists in the same essence with the person of the Father; the second designates an essence entirely distinct from the essence of the Father—a distinct individual being including “a true body and a reasonable soul.” By virtue of the first, Christ was the “brightness of the Father’s glory and the express image of his person;” by virtue of the second, “he was a man of sorrows and acquainted with grief.” The divine *ὑποστάσις* of Christ assumed human nature, which he is never to lay aside; he will continue to exist in two distinct natures, but in one person, for ever.—It is with great diffidence that we make the above suggestions, while we are fully aware that on so difficult a subject the most of which we complain may be owing to a defect in our own vision rather than to any obscurity in the reasoning of the author. Dr. Woods’ general views will not be misunderstood, and if there is any real obscurity in this particular paragraph, no man is better qualified than he to place the whole subject in its right light.

There is a kindred topic, however, in reference to which the views of the author are by no means obscurely expressed, and we regret that we are unable to concur in his opinion. We refer to the subject of the Sonship of Christ. It is well known that the doctrine of the eternal Sonship has long been the received doctrine both of the Catholic and of the evangelical Reformed Churches. But some have supposed that the term *Son* must always and necessarily imply inferiority and subordination; hence they consider it applicable to Christ only in his subordinate condition as the Messiah, or on account of his miraculous conception; and they therefore represent his Sonship not as eternal, but as originating in time. Whereas the general view has been that the appellation Son of God does not necessarily imply inferiority, but that it is applied in the Scriptures to the higher divine nature of Christ, and designates his equal relation to the Father. As he possessed this divine nature from eternity, he was from eternity also the Son of God—the Only-Begotten. Some years ago, it will be remembered, Professor Stuart, of Andover, entered

his dissent against this doctrine, rejecting the common opinion. This originated a controversy of great interest between him and Dr. Miller, of Princeton. The latter ably vindicated the doctrine of the eternity of Christ's Sonship. We had supposed that Dr. Woods would be found as usual favoring the old paths; but in this we are disappointed. After maintaining that the Scriptures apply the title Son of God to Christ on account of his miraculous conception and on account of his Messiahship, he says:—

In conclusion, let me remind you that I have been speaking of what is the *frequent* and as I think the *GENERAL* use of the title, "the Son of God," in the New Testament. But I would express myself with becoming modesty and diffidence on a subject on which I differ somewhat from so many great and good men. I am, however, far from opposing those authors who give the highest sense to the title *Son of God*, as employed in several texts, particularly John i. 14, and x. 30, and perhaps Rom. i. 3, 4. In these and some other places where the Saviour is called the Son of God, there is doubtless a reference to his divine nature, and his eternal relation to the Father, as the second person in the Trinity. And there is generally, I think, the same high reference when he is called the Christ, the Saviour, the Messiah. (Vol. I. p. 411.)

Now we might be very willing to admit that the title "Son of God" may refer occasionally to Christ's miraculous conception, and very frequently to his Messiahship, and yet it may be used in a much higher sense to designate the divine nature of Christ as the second person in the Trinity. The author, however, finds no instances of such a usage. He specifies passages in which the Saviour is called the Son of God, where he concedes there is a *reference* to the divine nature, but maintains that there is the same high reference when he is called the Christ, the Saviour, the Messiah. If this be true, then the appellation Son of God can be no higher title than that of Christ or Saviour. As to opposing those who give the highest sense to the title, we know of no more effective opposition than to divest their views of all support from the Scriptures.

But we have misunderstood the Scriptures if they do not often employ the appellation, Son of God, as a higher title than either of the others referred to. The latter all relate to his subordinate work; the former designates that high relation in virtue of which he claims equality with God. The title *Λόγος* probably relates to the work of Christ as *Creator*; since, according to both the Old Testament and the New, it was by the life-giving Word of Jehovah that the worlds were made. Hence, when John would announce the doctrine that all things were made by Him, and that without Him was not



any thing made that was made, he begins by designating him as the *Λογος*—the Word; a term equivalent to the expression in the Old Testament, *דבר יהוה*—Word of Jehovah. When the titles Messiah, Christ, Saviour, Jesus, are used, they all relate to his work as the *Redeemer* of the world. But the title Son of God, in its highest sense, excludes all reference to the *works* of Christ, either as creating or redeeming, and designates only his exalted *nature*. This is the only title of which this can be said, except when he is expressly called God. Even when the glory of the *Logos* is spoken of, as if to heighten our conception of it, it is declared to be “the glory as of the only-begotten of the Father.” Christ could not have startled the Jews more by explicitly calling himself God, than he did by claiming to be the Son of God. They at once charged him with making himself equal with God; nor did he repudiate the charge. And when it is to be revealed that the second person in the Trinity was sent to assume the nature of man, how is this fact announced? It is by such passages as teach that “God gave his only-begotten Son.” If Christ became the Son of God only by assuming human nature, what was he before he assumed our nature? By what title do the Scriptures designate this divine *ὑποστάσις*? Who will deny that the title Son of God is the only one employed for this high designation? Hence in Romans i. 4, where the divine and human natures are contrasted, it is his divine nature which is expressly declared to be the Son of God. There is something more than a mere “reference” to the divine nature in this passage. Hence, too, in the formula of baptism, where he is honored equally with the Father and the Holy Spirit, it is the Son who is thus honored; we are baptized “in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.” He who is alluded to as being in the bosom of the Father, even in the days of the incarnation, is also denominated the Son. “No man hath seen God at any time; the only-begotten Son, who is in the bosom of the Father, he hath declared him.” John i. 18. When the Spirit of inspiration rejoices in him as the source of spiritual life, and denominates him “the true God,” it is the *Son* who is thus honored. “We know that the Son of God is come, and hath given us understanding that we may know him that is true, and we are in him that is true, even in his Son Jesus Christ. This is the true God and eternal life.” 1 John v. 20. Where he is introduced as an object of worship even to angels, it is the Son of God who is to be worshipped; and where he is addressed in terms of the highest favor by the infinite Majesty

Himself, it is "unto the Son he saith, Thy throne, O God, is for ever and ever, and a sceptre of righteousness is the sceptre of thy kingdom." Hebrews i. 8. We are aware it will be said that this latter passage refers to Christ as the Messiah. Be it so; and what is to hinder the highest title of Christ from having reference to the Messiah, since his highest nature is essential to constitute him the Messiah? But we think that the argument of the apostle would forbid the supposition that the term is here applied to the Messiah in any such sense as to intimate that the Sonship of Christ consists in his Messiahship; on the contrary, the Messiahship is exalted and ennobled by the fact that it is a commission to be performed by the *Son of God*. The epistle opens by directly announcing Christ under this august title. It is this high character that gives to every thing he has spoken a claim to our attention; this constitutes his superiority over the prophets, through whom God has spoken to us at sundry times and in divers manners. This rendered the Messiahship a higher office than the ministration of angels; and only on account of this has he a higher name than they. It is no objection to this view that the various titles of Christ are often promiscuously applied to him in the Scriptures, or used interchangeably with each other, referring either to his human or to his divine nature. Such a usage, we admit, is frequent, according to a figure of speech, denominated by the ancients, *ιδιωμάτων κοινωνία*—a communication of properties. But it will not be denied that no title could be applied upon any principle to Christ which there is nothing either in his nature, character or office to justify; and the doctrine which we maintain is, that the title Son of God, as applied to Christ in its highest sense, is justified only by the fact of his equality with God.

It is not our design here to argue this question further; but from the above and other considerations, we think it may be seen that the Reformers and Christians in all ages have had some good grounds for their belief in the eternal Sonship of Christ. It ought here to be said that those alluded to as denying the doctrine are by no means disposed to deny that Christ was, from eternity, the second person in the Trinity. They seem chiefly to be embarrassed with the application of the term "begotten" in this connection. But we know of nothing in the laws of exegesis to prevent us from regarding the term as being used, not to imply an origin on the part of the Son, nor even any act on the part of the Father, but to express that fixed and immutable relation which existed between the Father and the Son from eternity.

We would call special attention to the author's views on the morality of the affections—a subject which he has very ably treated in his *Lectures on Moral Agency*, as well as in his *Treatise on the Philosophy of Mind*. Many at the present day maintain that man is responsible only for his volitions; and that what are usually denominated our moral affections, have a moral quality only as they are originated by our own volition; and that consequently all sin and all holiness in accountable beings must result from previous volition and choice. If this doctrine be true, then man could not have been created holy; he could not have been born sinful; nor can his native depravity have any moral quality. The author clearly discriminates between the morality of an action or volition which must depend on the intention and motive, and the morality of an affection which can alone depend on the nature of the affection itself. He makes the essence of all sin to consist in the affections of the heart, the actings of our inward spiritual nature. On page 90, Vol. II., before appealing to the Scriptures, he says:—

But here, as elsewhere, our appeal is to our moral sense, which we have seen to be the ultimate test of good and evil. Suppose then that we are conscious of having in our hearts true love to God or benevolence to men—conscious of having this affection and nothing else—conscious of the emotion or exercise of love, unattended with any external action whatever. Do we not instantly say that such an affection is right? Does not the consciousness of having it excite in us a feeling of self-approbation or complacency? And does not the perception of this affection in others excite in us the feeling of approbation towards them? If so, then it has the distinguishing mark of virtue or moral good. In this feeling of approbation there is no necessary reference to any thing else, either antecedent or consequent, as the ultimate object of our approbation. It is the affection itself that we regard as constituting moral excellence or goodness.

The classification of the mental operations adopted by our author makes a distinction between the volitions and the affections, similar to that which Edwards makes between what he denominates the imperative and immanent volitions—differing little from that sanctioned by Cousin, and adopted by Upham in his *Elements of Mental Philosophy*. He shows clearly that volition does not originate and cannot always either directly or indirectly control the affections; on the contrary, he maintains that our affections originate and control our volitions; that this is the natural order of our mental exercises. He very justly says, that if the affections, instead of being excited by suitable objects, were governed by a mere act of the will, there would be an end of rational and accountable agency; the groundwork of moral good and evil would be taken away.



His views are further illustrated by the following paragraphs:—

But I must come to the chief object of the present number, which is to show, that instead of the affections being under the direct influence of the volitions, just the opposite is true, namely, *that the volitions are under the influence of the affections*; and that instead of the affections deriving their moral character from any acts of the will, *all acts of the will derive their moral character, so far as they have any, from the affections.* \* \* \* \* \* The affections, including the emotions and passions, are eminently the principles of action. Without these, how could we act at all? And without *moral* affections, how could we perform moral acts, or have any volitions which are of a moral nature? If the acts of the will do not flow from the affections, why may it not be, that a man who has no love to God will choose to labor and suffer for God just as much as if he had love? And why may it not be, that a person whose heart is full of benevolence towards his fellow-men, will choose to treat them, and actually treat them, with unkindness and cruelty, just as though he had the opposite affection of hatred? If the affections do not govern the acts of the will, you can never anticipate what your voluntary conduct will be from your knowledge of your own heart. \* \* \* \* \* The other point mentioned above, namely, *that the character of every volition depends on the character of the affection from which it proceeds*, is equally evident. If our volitions are the result of a *moral affection*, we necessarily consider them of a *moral nature*, whatever may be the outward object acting on the mind. For the outward object can get access to the will and influence its acts only through the affections. It is the affection which comes in contact with the will, and determines the character of its acts. If the affection which prompts the volitions is right, *they* are right, that is, relatively; and a relative rightness is all they can have. If the affection is wrong, the volitions flowing from it are also wrong. And when I speak of volitions in this way, as flowing from the affections, I mean to include the mental and bodily acts which are connected with the volitions, and which are, on that account, called voluntary. And on the other hand, when I speak of these mental and bodily acts, I mean to speak of them as implying a volition, and as resulting directly from it. (Vol. V. pp. 89-91.)

On this subject our author has taken no new ground; he is sustained in his views by Brown, Edwards, and other distinguished writers on Mental Science. It is to be regretted that Dr. Chalmers advocates a different sentiment. In his *Sketches of Moral and Mental Philosophy*, he says: "We would now affirm the all-important principle that nothing is moral or immoral which is not voluntary,"—that is, according to his meaning, caused either directly or indirectly by a previous volition. After complaining of others, that instead of proving this, they have too frequently left it to be inferred, he says: "We think it for the advantage of our subject that it should receive a different treatment; that it should be announced, and with somewhat the pomp and circumstance too of a first principle, and have the distinction given to it, not of a tacit, but of a proclaimed axiom of Moral Science." He then proceeds to construct an elaborate argument in support of his position.

But we regard his attempt as fallacious. In our opinion he has succeeded far better with the pomp than he has with the principle. The following extracts will show the difference between his views and those of Dr. Woods: "We regard compassion as a virtuous sensibility, and we regard malignity, or licentiousness, or envy, as so many depraved affections; and yet, on our principle, they are virtuous or vicious only in so far as they are wilful. \* \* \* \* If, apart from the will, there can be neither moral worth nor moral worthlessness—if it be implied in the very notion of desert, that the will has had some concern in that which we thus characterize—if neither actions nor affections are, without volitions, susceptible of any moral reckoning—it may require some consideration to perceive how far the element of moral worth is at all implicated in an emotion. \* \* \* \* We think Dr. Brown has made a wrong discrimination, when he speaks of certain of the emotions which involve in them a moral feeling, and certain others of them which do not. There is no moral designation applicable to any of the emotions, viewed nakedly and in themselves. They are volitions, and our volitions only which admit of being thus characterized; and emotions are no further virtuous or vicious, than as volitions are blended with them, and blended with them so far as to have given them either their direction or their birth." (Pp. 173-176.)

Now, is it indeed true that compassion has no moral quality except as it receives its birth from a previous volition? Is not the very reverse of this the fact? Why is a volition to cherish compassion a virtuous and commendable act? Is it not because compassion is a virtuous and commendable feeling? If the feeling were not virtuous in itself, evidently the volition to cherish it could not make it so. But granting that compassion becomes a virtue because the will has had an agency in its production, it must be because the agent aimed at the production of this feeling, and that it came into existence as the result of previous intention and design. But even when the will has had an active agency in bringing before our minds scenes of distress which excite compassion, the production of this feeling has rarely been any part of the agent's intention or design. Did it enter into the design of Howard, in visiting the prisons of distress, to awaken compassion in his own bosom? Was not his heart bent exclusively upon the relief of human wretchedness? But if an increase of compassion was a consequence, how could this feeling be a virtue, according to the doctrine in question,

since it did not originate in the previous intention or design of the agent? Again, what shall we say of compassion awakened by a scene of distress which we have had no agency whatever in bringing before the mind, but which has been forced upon our attention suddenly and unexpectedly? Would it in this case lose its moral quality? Or, let us suppose the case of two individuals who visit a scene of distress, it may be for the very purpose of awakening in their own hearts salutary feelings. Both may have the same intention; but the same phenomenon does not come to pass in each, owing to a difference in their moral state. The one by the sight of poverty and wretchedness experiences compassion, and is prompted to acts of liberality to relieve the distressed; the other becomes absorbed with no other thought than how he shall most carefully hoard what he possesses, lest he shall be one day reduced to the same want. No one can deny that the former has a feeling very different in moral quality from that of the latter. Why is the one virtuous and the other vicious? The will had the same agency in bringing the scene before the mind of each. If this previous agency is all that rendered compassion a virtue, why did it not render selfishness a virtue? It is very evident that these feelings owe their moral quality, not to the mode of their generation, but to their own essential nature. It may be said of the latter individual that his will must have had a fearful agency, through all his previous life, in bringing about a state of heart so obdurate and unnatural. Let us then suppose a case where it will be conceded that such an objection is not admissible. An individual enters the sanctuary of God, it may be for the purpose of scoffing at religion; for this purpose he lends his attention to a discourse from the sacred desk; through divine grace the truth becomes the means of his conversion; he repents, he believes in Jesus Christ—he loves God. Now, has the affection of love to God in this case no moral quality? But if it is a morally right feeling, surely we cannot here ascribe it to the agency of the will in bringing truth before the mind; nor can we ascribe it to any agency which the will has had in the previous life of the individual in preparing him for such a result: indeed, when has the love of God ever been originated in a single human being by his own previous volition? This affection is, in its own essential nature, virtuous, and cannot be otherwise.

Were we to undertake to point out the specific fallacy with which the reasoning of Dr. Chalmers, and those who think with him, is chargeable, we would say, it consists in con-



founding two different moralities—if we may so speak—the morality of *having* a certain affection, and the morality of *originating* it. If a man has never purposed, designed, or willed to produce in his own bosom, directly or indirectly, compassion for human misery, or love towards the Supreme Being, then it is very clear the originating of these affections is not to be set to his credit; the morality of a volition to produce them does not belong to him. But if he is found possessed of these feelings or affections, the morality of exercising them is to be set to his credit. He has the virtue of *having* them, whether he has the virtue of *originating* them or not. If he exercises them, and has also originated them, the merit of both is to be set to his credit. The same may be said of a sinful affection. If a feeling of enmity to God ever transpires in any mind, then the guilt of that mind is unquestionable, though it may be free from the sin of intending, or of originating by a previous purpose, such a feeling; a sin of this nature is one of too dark and appalling a character to be charged even upon Satan himself. The same also may be said of human depravity. No man since the fall has the guilt of *originating* his own depravity. Yet the depravity of each is charged upon him as a sin, and is declared to be “exceeding sinful.”—Owing to the strong theological bearing of this question, we have dwelt longer on it than we otherwise should have done.

We proceed to a consideration of some of the author's views on human depravity, as expressed in his Lectures, his Essay, and in his Letters to Unitarians. His Essay has already passed, with approbation, an ordeal so high in authority, that the views which it contains might fairly be considered as exempt from further criticism. But in a work whose general execution is most admirable, a single defect will be the more regretted on account of its tendency to mar the beauty of the whole. He has made one concession which we cannot but think goes far toward subverting some of his own main positions. He mentions two theories; one of which maintains that all sin consists in actions—in the mind's own exercises, and that there is nothing in man anterior to his acts that can be said to have the nature of sin. The other maintains that there is in fallen man a propensity, disposition, or inclination to sin, anterior to any mental acts; that native depravity consists in such a disposition, and that this disposition or propensity is sinful. This he represents to be the general view of orthodox divines, and the one which he himself maintains as the true one. He represents man, on account

of this propensity, as sinful as soon as he is born. Both in his Lectures and in his Essay, which differ but little, he repeatedly represents this disposition as wrong and sinful; and in his Letters to Unitarians, he could not speak more decisively on this point. He says: "Every man must decide, and does decide, that a propensity, inclination or disposition to sin, is the very essence of sin, and the only thing which makes any outward action or any volition sinful." (Vol. IV. p. 220.) Again he says: "Dr. Ware speaks of the source or *origin* of sin as something distinct from sin itself. If he means the outward act of sin, the distinction he makes is very proper. Outward visible sin springs from inward sin; sin in the life from sin in the heart. But sin in the highest sense is sin in the heart; that is, *wrong affection—corrupt inclination*. It is impossible to form a conception of such a thing as sin, which does not begin in the heart. So that no man can make a distinction that is intelligent between that which in the most proper sense is sin, and corrupt affection or inclination." (Vol. IV. p. 303.) He adds: "But what are we to say of this disposition to transgress which gives temptation all its efficacy? Here we find that which is sin in the ultimate sense, and that without which nothing else could be sin. \* \* \*

We come then with humble demonstration to this result, that *sin* lies radically and essentially in a wrong state of heart." (Page 308.) On page 324, he also says: "In my Reply, I represented the very essence of sin as consisting in a propensity, inclination, or disposition to sin." Any one would infer from such expressions that he intended to represent man's corrupt and depraved disposition or state of heart as *sin* in the highest and most absolute sense. Evidently it is only in this view that he could be considered as harmonizing with the Westminster Confession, with Calvinistic theologians generally, and, which is of far more importance, with the Scriptures. This view is undoubtedly very different from that sustained by the other theory above mentioned. Yet, as many Congregationalists, many of Dr. Woods' own brethren, advocate that theory, he has made an attempt to reconcile the two, and has pronounced them identical. But we really do not see how two theories could be more directly opposed. The one represents sin as commencing only in a developed state of the intelligence; the other represents it as commencing with our existence. The one makes all sin to consist in intelligent moral action; the other finds sin existing anterior to all action, in that native disposition, that corrupt propensity or inclination, from which all sinful acts flow. The one represents

men as responsible only for actual transgression; the other represents them as by nature the children of wrath. Yet the author says: "The theory which I have attempted to defend is generally regarded as different from that which only represents man as responsible for his actions. In some respects it is different. But we know that in many cases two theories which are in some respects different, and which are often supposed to be opposite to each other, will, on thorough examination, be found not only consistent with each other, but to be merely different views of one and the same thing." We are disappointed to find from his subsequent remarks that he does not, after all, regard that native depravity which precedes all action as sin in the highest and "ultimate sense" which he speaks of in his Letters to Dr. Ware, but that he regards it only as sin in a *relative* sense. He says: "If the disposition is pronounced to be sinful, it is pronounced to be so relatively to the action to which it leads." Now, if we can attach any idea to the expression *relatively sinful*, we regard it as applicable only to things which are not in their own nature sinful, but only relatively to something else. When the children of Israel gathered manna on the seventh day, their act was sinful, not because gathering manna was in itself absolutely and essentially so—it was only relatively so—that is, relatively to the command prohibiting the act on that particular day. Is this the meaning which the author attaches to the term? Will he say that our native depraved propensity to actual sin is not in its own nature sinful, but only relatively to actual transgression, and becomes really sinful only as developed in overt acts? If so, then he would make depravity sinful in no other sense than our ordinary appetites are sinful; for, although they are not sinful in themselves, yet if they are not restrained within certain limits, they will be productive of actual sin, and on this account may be said to be relatively sinful. He enters into a labored argument to show that moral exercises commence in very early infancy, and may exist much earlier than we are accustomed to suppose. But for our own part, when we contemplate that deep and inveterate depravity, so malignant in its character that the Scriptures pronounce it enmity to God, if we cannot find in this, and in its own essential nature too, sin enough to account for the sufferings and death of children, we should shrink from extending our inquiry among the tender and earliest buddings of thought in the infant mind, in order to find higher cause of crimination. But our author seems to think that sinful action in some degree is necessary to justify the infliction of any punitive evil what-



ever; that without this indeed no one can be treated as a subject of retribution. He says: "*What I mean is, there is no such thing as a moral being who is actually treated as a subject of retribution while his moral nature is not in some way developed in holy or unholy action.*" (Vol. II. p. 340.) We are not a little surprised at this announcement from such a source. If this be true, then it will follow, either that no infant can suffer or die till its depraved disposition is developed in unholy action, or that suffering and death are not retributive or penal evils. Again, if this be true, then an infant dying before its depravity is developed in action, since it cannot be treated as a subject of retribution, will need no substitute to bear any penalty, no sacrifice to atone for any sin, no Saviour, no Redeemer. Yet the author appeals for the truth of this sentiment to the Scriptural doctrine that at the final judgment man will be rewarded "according to the deeds done in the body." But we surely take too narrow a view of this subject if we suppose the Scriptures ever designed to teach that the final adjudication of men will be determined by their deeds, any further than these deeds themselves determine and indicate the state of the heart. On no other account are actions regarded before any tribunal, human or divine. And what light does a single deed sometimes cast upon the whole character! What depths of depravity are often revealed by one sinful act! Even beings who have no other means of judging of the nature of a cause than from its effects, may form a just judgment of the moral condition of our collective race from the collective acts of the race, and may judge of the moral state of undeveloped humanity from that portion of it which has been developed in action. How much more, then, can a just estimate of the iniquity of the human heart, in every stage of its existence, be formed by that sovereign Judge who never reasons or infers, but whose unerring eye measures the profound abyss of human depravity by a single glance? Since God, therefore, is not dependent on human action as the medium through which to arrive at an estimate of human character, may He not, at the final day, treat human beings according to their moral state? Is there any thing in the idea of retribution which will prevent Him from dealing with men according to what they *are*, as well as according to what they *do*? How, otherwise, could He who is to be the Judge of quick and dead, decide, that "the blood of all the prophets which was shed from the foundation of the world" would be required of a single generation? Luke xi. 50. On the same principle, may not the appalling deed of the crucifixion of the Son of God

be laid upon the conscience of every member of the human family, as emphatically the crime of the race?

From all that we can learn, then, from the Scriptures we are compelled to regard depravity as a sin in its own essential nature—it is spiritual death. And as to those who die in infancy, before actual transgression, we have no reason to suppose that they are exempt from retribution. They are subjects of law, and as such they will need to be redeemed in the same manner as others who are under the law; they can be saved from sin only through the atonement and mediation of Jesus Christ. We cannot suppress an expression of our regret, that the author has undertaken to blend or identify these two conflicting theories. After making firm and strong the doctrine of the Reformers, which we still cannot but regard as his own, he would have done well to let this exercise theory take care of itself. It will prove a thorn in his flesh so long as he keeps it in his company.

As intimately connected with the subject of human depravity, we have yet to notice the views which have been expressed in relation to the effect of Adam's sin upon his posterity. Dr. Woods has no hesitation in admitting the doctrine of imputation; but he admits it in so great a variety of senses, that we are at a loss to determine whether there is, after all, any one sense which really commends itself to his approbation. There is one view of the doctrine, however, which he unequivocally rejects. He says: "But if the doctrine of imputation means that Adam's posterity are literally and personally chargeable with his sin, and that God inflicts the penalty of the law upon them for his offense alone, *they themselves being in all respects sinless*, then the doctrine, in my view, wants proof." That Adam's sin was literally and personally charged upon his posterity, in any such sense as to represent them as personally and *morally criminal* for his sin, which they never committed, is nowhere maintained by the advocates of the doctrine of imputation. In rejecting this view, Dr. Woods is sustained by Calvin, Turretine, and other theologians of the same school. But if he means to deny that any of the penal consequences of Adam's sin have been inflicted upon his posterity, for his offense alone, irrespective of any moral fault of theirs, this would be rejecting what we consider a clear and explicit doctrine of divine revelation. We cannot think that this is the author's meaning. This evidently conflicts with admissions which he repeatedly makes in relation to the effects of the first transgression. But we must not withhold from our readers what he seems to have de-

signed as a very careful and explicit statement of the way in which Adam's sin affects his posterity. He says : "Again, I inquire whether Adam's sin affects his posterity in this way, namely : *that by a special divine constitution, they are, in consequence of his fall, born in a state of moral depravity leading to certain ruin ; or that, according to the common law of descent, they are partakers of a corrupt nature, the offspring being like the parent ; and that suffering and death come upon them as the effect of Adam's offense, they being still not innocent and pure, but depraved and sinful.*" Vol. II., p. 351.

The Pelagian doctrine, that men become sinners by imitation, is here decidedly rejected ; yet there is an obscurity in the language, which we are unable to dispel. The first clause contains two elements, a fact and its explanation. The fact is, that men are born depraved ; the explanation is, that this happens in consequence of Adam's sin by a special divine constitution. We might have supposed that by "special divine constitution" he meant a special divine dispensation or appointment, and that this form of expression was used in order to teach, that the condition in which men are now born is owing to the judgment of God on account of Adam's sin, and not to the *necessary* action of any general law of our nature, physical or mental. But in the next clause, he explains more fully his meaning, and teaches us that by "special divine constitution" he only means the common law of descent, and that it is according to this we are made partakers of a corrupt nature. Now, are we to infer from this, that had Adam sustained no federal or representative relation to his posterity, and no other relation than such as any father sustains to his children, he must, after his fall, have necessarily communicated his own corruption to his children by the common law of descent ? If so, we are at a loss to see how the assertion is susceptible of proof. What are we to understand by the common law of descent ? Do we mean the law of descent common to human beings ? Then it is an assumption to assert, that depraved parents must impart depravity to their children by the necessary action of this law. The mere fact that depravity is *actually* thus conveyed, is no proof that this is a necessary result of the law. Exclude the idea of representation, and also the idea of depravity coming on the race by way of special divine judgment, and then the supposition that there is any thing in the common law of descent which must necessarily entail depravity upon children of a depraved parent, is entirely without foundation. There is nothing in the Scriptures to prove it ; there is no analogy in



the universe to sustain it. On the contrary, since it is conceded, on all hands, that depravity is no part of the substance either of the mind or the body, this would seem necessarily to preclude the possibility of its being strictly propagated, and leave us to account for its universal prevalence in some other way. Accordingly, we shall find that while the Scriptures evidently favor the doctrine that depravity is conveyed by ordinary generation, yet they as evidently ascribe this depravity, this spiritual death, to the just judgment of God, on account of one man's offense. And there is nothing to forbid the idea that God may employ a natural law as the medium of conveying certain penal consequences, which otherwise would have resulted in no such evils. It may be said that it is a law common to all animals, that like must beget its like. But all that was necessary to make good this law, in the case of Adam, was that he should be the progenitor of human beings. And had Adam after his fall propagated an offspring as pure as he himself was when he came from the hands of his Creator, who would have said that the progeny was monstrous, or that the common law of descent had been violated?

The closing paragraph of our author's explanation, we think, needs some qualification. It is true, men do not suffer till they exist; they do not experience natural death till after the commencement of natural life; since, therefore, they commence existence as depraved and sinful beings, then of course they suffer and die, not as innocent, but as depraved and sinful beings; and we freely admit that their own depravity will furnish cause sufficient to justify all the suffering, death, and condemnation which afterwards come upon them, without charging any part thereof to Adam's transgression. But it cannot be denied that there is a kind of death to which we are doomed, irrespective of our own depravity or sin. Depravity itself comes not upon us on account of our depravity; nor our death in sin, on account of our previous death in sin. We have been in the habit of supposing that the moral condition in which the posterity of Adam are born is owing solely to his sin, and could not, in the nature of things, have come to pass through their own moral fault. Here then is the great question, upon the issue of which the doctrine of imputation depends. If it can be shown that the present depraved condition of the human family comes to pass, we do not say as a mere consequence, but as a *penal* consequence of Adam's sin, then what is generally understood as the doctrine of imputation is established; otherwise

it must fall to the ground. But that our degraded condition is the penal effect of Adam's sin, we think, can be so clearly shown from the Scriptures as scarcely to admit of a doubt. The meaning of the apostle in Romans v. 12 may be thus expressed: "Wherefore, as by one man sin entered into the world, and death by sin, so this sentence of death extended to all men, since the sin of one was the sin of all." But we may safely allow to the philologist all the latitude he can ask in the interpretation of ἐφ' ᾧ πάντες ἥμαρτον. He may say with Augustine, *in whom* all have sinned; or with our own version, *for that* all have sinned; or with Calvin, all have sinned in the sense of all have become corrupt,—"*Porro istud peccare est corruptos esse et vitiatos*;" yet no art or stratagem can exorcise from the passage, as a whole, its true spirit, nor evade the obvious and prominent fact, that *judgment, penal consequence, condemnation*, come upon all men on the *sole account* of one man's offense. This is plainly taught in each verse from the 14th to the 19th inclusive.

There are very few who are unwilling to admit that the general corruption of the human family has come to pass in *consequence* of Adam's sin. If Calvinists could agree to pause here, they would gain this advantage; Unitarians and Pelagians would harmonize with them in opinion; but the price of this harmony would be the sacrifice of a clear and explicit doctrine of revelation. Hence, whatever diversity of opinion may exist among Calvinists, they have generally concurred in regarding the depraved condition of the human family as a penal consequence of Adam's sin. Calvin himself, while he denies that we are morally guilty of Adam's sin, since his personal guilt pertains not to us,—"*Neque id suo unius vitio quod nihil ad nos pertineat*," Inst. Lib. ii. chap. 1, 6,—hesitates not to represent the wrath of God as kindled against the whole race on account of the first sin. "*Species ipsa peccati in lapsu Adæ consideranda nobis est, quæ horribilem Dei vindicatam accendit in totum humanum genus*." Inst. Lib. ii. chap. 1, 4. He will not allow, indeed, that we are subjected to any miseries which are not merited by us on our own account; but then we see the terrible conception which he forms of our doom, when he represents that not only has the punishment of Adam's sin come upon us, but the corruption which makes that punishment personally *deserved*. "*Ab illo tamen non sola in nos pœna grassata est, sed instillata ab ipso lues in nobis residet cui jure pœna debetur*." Inst. Lib. ii. chap. 1, 8. He every where represents our depravity as conveyed by the natural law of generation; yet he will

not allow this to be resolved into the necessary effects of any natural law, but ascribes it to a sentence passed upon us in the person of Adam. "Neque enim factum est naturaliter, ut a salute exciderent omnes unius parentis culpâ. \* \* \* Cunctos immortales in unius hominis personâ morti eternæ mancipatos fuisse, Scriptura clamat." Inst. Lib. iii. chap. 23, 7. "The cause of this contagion," he furthermore says, "is neither in the substance of the body nor of the soul; but because it was so ordained of God that the gifts which he had conferred on the first man should be retained or lost for himself, as well as for his posterity." Inst. Book ii. chap. 1, 7. Hence he declares that it is unnecessary even to trouble ourselves with the question, whether the soul is propagated at all or not from the soul of the father. It is enough to know that the ornaments committed to him were lost for himself and for us all. Chap. 1, 7. Turretine also, one of the successors of Calvin as Professor of Theology in the school of Geneva, expresses himself still more explicitly on this point. He opposed the doctrine which represents imputation as consequent upon our depravity, and which required us to be treated as sinners only so far as our own personal and moral deserts constituted us such; but he advocated that *direct and immediate* imputation which is *antecedent* to depravity and all personal ill-desert on our part, and which caused us to be involved in the same sentence which was pronounced on Adam. He refers to many passages in the writings of his predecessors, Calvin and Beza, to show that they concur with him in opinion. Loc. 9, 6, 41. So far, therefore, from resolving our depravity into the necessary effects of a natural law, he thinks it can be accounted for only on the principle of direct and immediate imputation, and he regards this as the chief ground on which the justice of that divine dispensation can be vindicated which permits depravity to be propagated from parents to children. He says, Loc. 9, 21, "Qua negata imputatione immediata primi peccati, præcipuum fundamentum justitiæ propagationis peccati tollitur. Nec sufficiens ratio reddi potest cur Deus labem illam hæreditariam et inhærentem voluerit a parentibus transmitti ad posteros." Pictet, another of Calvin's successors, expresses himself to the same effect. He maintains that to permit this corruption to pass from parents to children is to inflict a punishment. Now punishment, he says, implies sin; but when corruption is first conveyed to children they are without sin, hence this can be only on account of *imputed* sin. He says—we quote from the French edition of works,



Liv. vi. 6: "Certainement si le péché d'Adam n'avoit point été imputé à ses décendants, on ne sauroit rendre raison, pourquoy Dieu a permis, que la corruption qui a été en Adam la suite de ce premier péché soit passée à sa postérité."

We have given, with some care, the language of these distinguished theologians, not because their opinions are authoritative, but because their testimony will be considered, by those who belong to the Calvinistic school, as decisive in regard to the true Calvinistic doctrine. It is most of all important, however, to ascertain and teach the simple truth of the Bible. And we cannot but feel that the Scriptural fact is but partially stated when we say merely that our depravity is *in some way* the consequence of Adam's sin. To pause here may tend to conciliate and to put an end to controversy, but even for a result so desirable as this, we are not at liberty to sacrifice any part of the teachings of divine revelation. The same Scriptures which represent the ruined condition of the human family as the consequence of Adam's sin, teach, with equal explicitness, that it is the *penal* consequence of his sin; which is by far the most important and instructive element in this great fact. It is unnecessary so to state this doctrine, as to imply that God himself is the author of our depravity, or that he infused the virus of sin as a positive infliction. We do not see that modern science has been able to devise more felicitous forms of expression for conveying the doctrine of the Scriptures than those employed in the Shorter Catechism and the Westminster Confession. "The sinfulness of that estate whereinto man fell consists in the guilt of Adam's first sin, the want of original righteousness, and the corruption of his whole nature, which is commonly called original sin, together with all actual transgressions which proceed from it. \* \* \* They [our first parents] being the root of all mankind, the guilt of this sin was imputed, and the same death in sin and corrupted nature conveyed to all their posterity, descending from them by ordinary generation."

We surely have enough in the Scriptures to reconcile us to the principle of representation in the human family, since, though it has been the means of entailing misery through Adam, it has also secured to us the greatest conceivable blessings through Jesus Christ. Not only so, if this principle is properly studied, it is undoubtedly adapted to disclose to us exalted and noble views of the dignity of man. It concedes to us something more than a mere existence as separate and floating atoms in the universe of God; it exalts us above the condition of animals, held together by no higher than a mere

gregarious instinct ; it makes us a community, a family, and each individual is constituted a member of a great and universal brotherhood, in which it may be said, in a peculiar sense, no man liveth to himself and no man dieth to himself, but where the acts of one may affect, for good or evil, the interests of the whole. In accordance with these views Olshausen, in his commentary on Rom. v. 12-17, very justly remarks that there are only two stand-points known to antiquity, from which this passage can be viewed, the Augustinian and Pelagian ; that the two theories thence resulting differ so entirely from each other on every great problem, that they scarcely admit of any comparison ; that they are like parallel lines running side by side, but never meeting. The Pelagian theory, whether it be pure or semi-Pelagianism, can see nothing in humanity but a collection of individuals, each free, intelligent, and independent ; in virtue as in sin, each stands or falls for himself. The Augustinian theory, on the other hand, sees in humanity a closely connected totality, where individuals are by no means separate and independent wholes, but each is an integral part of this totality. In this connection he subjoins a note, which is so full of useful suggestion that we have ventured to translate it for our readers.\*

We shall be unable to devote to the remaining topics the attention they deserve. In relation to the subject of the atonement, we need only say, that it finds in these volumes a very able discussion. There is scarcely another subject which the

\* Whether we attribute the fall to individuals in this world, or in a previous state of existence, as Origen, is all the same in principle ; according to this theory, each individual always stands or falls for himself. Compare, in reference to this, the excellent remarks of my honored colleague, Professor Stahl, in his *Philosophy of Right*, vol. II, part 1, (Heidelberg, 1833,) p. 99, where it is said : "Adam is the original material of humanity ; Christ, its archetype in God ; both personally living. In them humanity is one ; on this account Adam's sin became sin for all, Christ's offering an expiation for all. Each leaf of a tree can be green or wither for itself, but each suffers through the disease of the root, and recovers through its healing. The more superficial a man is, the more every thing will appear to him as isolated ; for on the surface all things lie disconnected with each other. He will in humanity, in the nation, nay, in the family itself, see only individuals among whom the act of one has no connection with the act of another. The more profound a man is, the more conscious he becomes of those internal relations which spring from a central point of unity. Nay, the love of our neighbor itself is nothing else than the deep feeling of this unity ; for we love only him with whom we can feel and know ourselves to be one. What the Christian love of our neighbor is for the heart, that this unity of the race is for the understanding. Is sin through one and redemption through one impossible, then is the command to love our neighbor incomprehensible. Christian morality and Christian faith are, therefore, indissolubly bound together. Christianity effects in the history of human progress an advance similar to that from the animal kingdom to man, by a revelation of the substantial oneness of men, the consciousness of which was lost in the sundering of nations in ancient times." Very true ; it is not till man comes to God in Christ that he comes truly to himself ; without Christ he remains in the condition of animal life.

author has approached which he has treated in a manner more truly Biblical. He very properly abstains from attempting any theory of the atonement, but he so presents the facts of the Scriptures as to give us, after all, the best theory. He leaves no room to doubt that Christ was our substitute; that his sufferings and death were truly vicarious; that they rendered such a satisfaction to Divine justice that God can be just in extending pardon to the penitent believer in Jesus Christ; that the great end designed to be accomplished by the atonement was the salvation of God's chosen people; yet that it lays the foundation for the merciful and sincere offer of the gospel to all men, so that whosoever believes in Jesus Christ may have the assurance of eternal life.

We would also commend to special consideration the views expressed in relation to the office-work of the Holy Spirit. That theory of regeneration which represents it as the mere effect of truth, the result of moral suasion or of human discipline, finds no favor in these volumes.

It was our design to give some attention to the Lectures on Infant Baptism contained in the works of Dr. Woods, but as our remarks have already exceeded the limits which we had prescribed for them, and especially as an article upon that subject exclusively has been prepared for the pages of this Review, by another hand, we drop the purpose altogether.

In closing this article, we are conscious of some feelings of regret that we have felt it necessary to take the least exception to any of the author's views. Dr. Woods is too well known, however, for any one to receive the impression that he is an unsafe writer, or that his works are to be read only with caution. We surely have no such feeling. The suggestions we have made have been prompted by the dictates of candor. Criticism which aims merely to eulogize can be neither discriminating nor useful nor just. Besides, it is an excellency which belongs only to writings of the highest order, that even their own small defects are made the more visible by the very illumination which they bring with them. In our search for truth, we may not be willing to follow our guide in every respect, since the light from his own torch sometimes reveals to us a better way.

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## ART. V.—LINCOLN'S HORACE.

*The Works of Horace, with English Notes, for the use of Schools and Colleges.* By J. L. LINCOLN, Professor of the Latin Language and Literature in Brown University. New-York: D. Appleton & Co. 1851.

WAS it on some bright morning when the great city was just awaking to the cares and pleasures of a new day? Was it at panting noon, when the sunbeams fall fiercely upon the slopes of the Campagna, and the scorched eye turns with longing to the mountain-tops and the sea for a sign of breeze or shower? Or was it not rather in that calmer hour which sinks into the heart as it sinks over the landscape, with dews and silence and soothing emotions? There is no record to tell us, and yet how we would wish to know! Some great man may have been going out to his villa,—Pompey perhaps, musing on the last news from Gaul and Cæsar, or Cicero with the Pro Milone or the first outline of the De Finibus in his head. A prætor or a proconsul was setting forth for his province, with freedmen and slaves and stately treading soldiers in his train. Then, too, there were the crowds of comers as well as of goers, welcomes as well as adieus, merchants and soldiers, travellers and ambassadors, patricians and plebeians, wild beasts for the amphitheatre and Eastern perfumes for the toilet, and all those varieties of face and form and array, which must have made the old Appian of that day what it can never be again.

Among them was an old man with a little boy by his side, wending his way onward towards the city with the air of a traveller who is glad to be near his journey's end. The father, with marks of labor and thought on his brow; but the son, a ruddy little fellow, with black hair and black, roguish eyes, and a world of fun in his smile. Did any body pause to give them place, or gaze at them as they rode by? The elephant driver, perhaps, may have laughed at the half-terrified, half-wondering stare of the boy, or a freedman from the proconsul's train have looked down with contempt, as he recognized the homely badge of his order on brows less lordly than his own. But proconsul and prætor, and even the far-seeing Cicero himself, passed on without heeding the humble chariot and its humbler burthen. And now what name rises

to our lips as we catch our first glimpse of the Eternal City? What eye seems to rest with ours on the long-drawn wave of Soracte, and greet us with a familiar glance from the olive shades of Tibur? Whose spirit hovers over the landscape and blends with the sunbeam, calls up the Naiad from the fountain, mysterious voices from the crumbling ruin, and sheds over the stern realities of the present the soft and soothing hues of the past?

Go boldly on, humble chariot, with thy humble burthen! Little do ye know, proud gates, for whom ye now turn on your ponderous hinges! In a few days we shall meet them again, father and son, in the *Via Sacra*, and there you will find them daily on their way home or to school. Sometimes the little fellow will stop and stare about him, will want to know what all those beaks around the rostrum mean, and what Duilius did to have his name cut in such clear letters on that triumphal column.\* Cicero is going to address the people from that semi-circular pulpit at the foot of the Temple of Concord; do let us stop and hear him. And then again he will walk hastily on by column and shrine, telling what a hard lesson he had learnt in his Livius Andronicus, and how glad he had been to get back to Homer. And gradually as time glides on, the boyish form expands to the fuller proportions of manhood, and though his eye still gleams, and smiles spring spontaneously to his lips, there will be a cast of meditation about both lip and eye, to tell that many a bold thought and noble aspiration has already taken root in his mind.

Come now to Athens. Did he go round by water? Was it then that he first saw the heaving of the turgid sea, and thought that the eye which had looked unmoistened on its swimming monsters would fear no form of death? Did he gaze long at Themistocles' tomb and battle-scene, or did his eye dwell with deeper yearning on Sunium and its thousand memories of Plato? How did he feel when he first listened at twilight to the murmurs of the Cephissus, or saw the shadows fall with lengthening bars from the palm groves of the Academy? How did Homer look to him with living Greece for his commentator, and Pindar and Alcæus and Anacreon under their own bright sky? There were many other young Romans there too. Were they all hiving wisdom as thoughtfully as he? Did any of them condescend to make a friend of the freedman's son? Was there any one of them whom he envied for his birth or rank? Young Cicero per-

\* The column is gone, but the base with the inscription is still to be seen in the court of the Palace of the Conservatori at the Capitol.

haps, for he must have felt what an immortality there was in that name. And then, too, Marcus was a good fellow; a little wild, a little careless, somewhat too contented in the shade of his father's laurels to care much about enriching them with any of his own, but withal a good fellow in the main, and he and Horace must have been friends. We will not listen to any skepticism upon the matter—they must have been friends.

"Just see, now, what that good father of mine has been sending me," he exclaims one evening, half vexed, and yet with something like a burst of filial pride, as Horace enters his study. "Only see what a gentle rap the old gentleman has been preparing for my knuckles." It was in the evening, we are sure of it,—one of those evenings with long twilights, into which day seems to melt like a cloud into space, leaving you thoughtful and calm, and with the heart so alive to all good impressions. Young Marcus was stretched lazily on his couch, a table beside him, and on it an open box of scented wood just large enough to hold the three rolls of parchment which seemed to form the subject of his meditations, and one of which he had evidently been reading. "De Officiis," exclaimed Horace, as he took the roll from his hand, "De Officiis, and in Latin! Philosophy speaking Latin, idque Athenis! How gloriously these sentences roll on—look out for yourself, Plato! Græcarum literarum rudes—shall we always be dependent on Greece? Legendis nostris efficiis plenior. And why philosophy only?" And down he sinks upon his seat, his right hand still grasping the scarce opened scroll, the left dropping by his side into the deepening folds of the toga, and his head slightly bent forward as if to follow the direction of the eye, which is riveted with all the fervor of its deep, full orbs on the rich mosaic at his feet. And now a gleam of triumph flashes over his face, and his eye glows with intenser fervor. Pindar and Alcæus, and the delicate form of Sappho, and the sunny old Anacreon are with him; strange, indefinite figures and indistinct visions flit before his raptured gaze; uncreated melodies float around him; far down in the mysterious future eddies and whirls the engulphing torrent, wide strown with fragments of empires and thrones, and even his own dear Rome itself, while high above it, rooted on adamantine crags, rises a golden shrine, where, amid the laurel wreaths of centuries and roses still fresh from the stem, gleam out in characters of living light, the names of those great masters of song at whose feet he had sat so reverently; and ever bright and foremost among them that name which he had vowed from his childhood to inscribe where time and tempest should be vain.



Philippi comes next; not the most brilliant scene of the youthful poet's life, some learned men have said, and yet in spite of the "*celerem fugam*," we cannot help believing that the case was not quite so bad after all as it has been made out. Demosthenes, it is true, did something of the same sort, but then we have the testimony of stout old Cervantes,\* that there are no better soldiers than those that pass from the study to the camp. Cicero's soldiers may have been a little given to flattery, for aught that we know to the contrary,—the air of Asia Minor is said to be singular in some of its effects,—but they certainly did salute him after a well-fought battle with the appellation of Imperator, and both Cato and Cæsar acknowledged the title.† Dante fought at Campaldino just as he wrote in the *Inferno*, like a stern, daring fellow as he was; and a couple of hundred years ago every boy in Ferrara would have told you that Tasso's sword was as good as his pen. No, no! the man who could look as calmly on life as Horace did, was never afraid of a battle-field in such a cause.

And now that the republic is fallen, how shall a freedman's son and ex-tribune of the republican army make his way at Rome? How did the Imperial city look as he again descended the long slope of the Alban Mount, winding his way through vineyards, and olive orchards, and villas, and monuments, towards the gate which a few years before had received him an artless boy? How natural the mountains must have seemed; how grand the whole landscape; how welcome that mass of porticoes and towers and columns; with what a familiar sound must the vast hum of the innumerable multitude have fallen upon his ear! But was there any one to bid him welcome, or came he again as a stranger? Were there any misgivings in that stout heart, or did he look boldly forward, ready to bear whatever might come, and flee all anxious searchings about the morrow? We should like to have seen him on his first visit to the Forum. Where was that voice, which, even to us who never listened to its thrilling tones, still seems to float around it like sunbeams on a ruin; where those noble forms which had made it so like a temple of the gods? Silent, alas, for ever! mouldering in distant lands, and Roman

\* So he says, at least, in the *Persiles and Sigismunda*, his last work. "No hay mejores soldados, que los que se transplantan de la tierra de los estudios en los campos de la guerra; ninguno salió de estudiante para soldado, que no lo fuese por estremo." Lib. iii. c. 10.

† *Imperatores appellati sumus*, says the new Imperator to Atticus, in that exquisite specimen of the way in which an absent friend should tell another what he has been doing, which we find, Lib. v. ep. 20. He uses the title himself in various places, but to modern eyes it seems somewhat strange to read C. Cæsar Imp., M. T. Ciceroni Imperatori; or, M. Cato, M. T. C. Imp. S. P. D., etc.

freedom with them! Oh, sad, sad indeed, must have been his first walk along the Sacred Way!

But there is no time for vain lamentation; he has the world before him, and his way to make. What in the name of Apollo made him think of turning Quæstor's clerk? Barthélemi tells us of a director of the cabinet of medals, where the young Provençal had entered as assistant, who used to insist vigorously upon every *i*'s having its dot. "Only think," says the lively antiquarian,\* "what a thing to ask of me, who full half the time forget the *i* itself." How was it with Horace? There was a vast deal of practical wisdom about him, nobody can deny that; but we cannot help suspecting that he was heartily glad, to say the least, when the day's work was over, and he could get back to his Homer or lounge down his favorite *Via Sacra*. The first time you go to Rome, kind reader, do not forget the Temple of Saturn. You will find it just at the foot of the Capitoline Hill, on your left, if you come down the Tarpeian side, and only a few paces from the Temple of Vespasian. It may not be just as Horace left it. Fire, and pickaxe, and time, the surest destroyer of them all, have made sad work with this sanctuary of the father of the father of the gods. But still there is a portico left, and vaults, and the outline of the ground plan; materials enough for fancy to work upon, particularly if you see it by twilight. At its side is the Tabularium, where Horace may now and then have run over to chat a moment with a brother clerk or take a look at the archives, and between them the shrines of the *Deorum Consensuum*, with their twelve statues of gold. Take your Horace with you, (if Appleton would only have it pressed a little more, Lincoln's edition would be just the thing,) take your Horace with you, and sit down in the shadow of those columns and look down on those stones which his feet have trodden so often, (for the *Via Sacra* passes just below, and the pavement looks as though it had never been changed;) let Cicero's voice sweep over on the evening wind from the Temple of Concord, and Virgil and Lucan and Tacitus and Livy and all those kings of thought pass before your expanding mind; and then ask yourself whose work was the surest, the men's who won by sword or traffic, it matters little which, the means of building these monuments, or those who have shed such a halo around them as to make us treasure up the meanest fragment which their hands or their feet may have touched, as we would

\* Barthélemi's autobiography is a very lively picture of a very interesting man, who could illustrate medals and decipher inscriptions by the year without forgetting, *dulce est desipere in loco*.

treasure a flower or a shrub or even a blade of grass from a father's grave.

Where did he get his first sight of Virgil? At the Esqueline, perhaps, just after he had read the Silenus. That silent vineyard does not look now as if it could once have been the pride of Rome; and yet there it was that Mæcenas had laid out his gardens, and called Virgil first and afterwards Horace himself to live near him. And there Horace and Virgil soon meet as friends, and Varius with them. Many a pleasant hour must they have passed together, enjoying poetry and philosophy and good hearty fun, with true Italian zest. A little country excursion too now and then, a foretaste of the Sabine farm. Goldsmith used to sigh for them, and for want of something better, after a good morning's work, he would roam out into the suburbs of London and call it a shoemaker's holiday. The modern Romans understand them well, and call them *vignate*. If you don't know Italian, gentle reader, we will tell you what this means. You fix upon some day, summer or autumn, it matters little which, and even in spring, they are worth going to Rome for, if the flowers are in bloom and the leaves full enough to shade you. Get every thing ready over night, so as to have nothing to do in the morning but to dress and start. The sun loves to rise clear over the Sabine mountains, and you can count his footsteps long before he appears by the brightening hues that flush the mountain peaks and glow in the eastern sky. All below you is silent and dim. Solid masses of white clouds, the condensed vapors of the night, hang low over the Campagna, sometimes as motionless as a mountain lake, and then again swaying to and fro like a deep heaving sea. The air is cool even to chilliness, but rich with all the odors that the night dews have drawn forth from herb and flower, and the voices of the birds gush through it, as springs gush forth to the light. And now he comes, a gleaming ring at first, on the crest of the mountain, which trembles at his touch, and then you must shade your eyes as he darts upwards, pouring forth his light in torrents that sweep cloud and mist before them, dazzling and blinding you by their glare. But though you can no longer look at him, you can still measure his upward path by the beams as they strike the lower peaks, and the flood of light that bathes the upper slopes, and the shadows darkening and deepening and gradually shrinking at his approach, and the shriller notes of the birds, and the burst of joy from every living thing, and the sweeter smile of Nature herself, and the swelling of your own heart, which beats in thrilling sympathy with this morn-



ing hymn. Alas! that these pulsations should so often be checked by an icy hand, and the shadows return and close around you, and deepen into darkness, that no sunbeam can ever dispel.

But we are forgetting our vignata. On we go, merrily chatting by the way, stopping every now and then to pluck a flower, or watch some happy bird as he darts to and fro, and then lights and sings a moment, and then whirrs away again, as if he were so full of joy that it needed both wings and throat to tell it all. And we too are dreaming of joy, a joyous day, the things that we will say and the things that we will do; and man even has something of the bird about him when he can look forward. The vineyard gate is open. It is a great day for the peasant also, and he has swept out your rooms and opened the windows betimes to let the fresh air breathe through them, and set out a table for you under the vine-walk; and here he stands smiling at the gate, and his rosy little daughter peeping out from behind him and smiling too. She has made a nosegay for you, and got up an hour before her time to choose the sweetest flowers and arrange the colors aright. Our walk has given us an appetite, and we march straightforward to the table. What shall we have for breakfast? It shall be September, and we will have grapes and figs, and a slice or two of Roman bacon. Do not be startled, reader, it is the very thing you want; only try it once, and you will learn to like it as well as we do. The figs shall be put on a leaf from their native tree, and the grapes on another, and both shall be cool and sparkling with dew. And while you eat, the peasant gives you the history of the vineyard since the last time you were there, and his little daughter comes and stands behind the vine-leaves to listen, and blushes and smiles, and sometimes too will sigh, if you ask her about her sweet-heart.

And next, how shall we pass the morning? Shall we ride? Shall we walk over to some other vineyard, or shall we make an exploring expedition into the Campagna? No; it is so pleasant here that we will stay where we are, and walk under the arbors and among the vines; we will look out upon the mountains; the birds shall sing to us from the tree-tops and hedges, and by-and-by the wind shall come rustling through the leaves and join the concert. And we will talk of Nature and her soothing influences; of man and life and duty; of the insects that hum by us, and the flowers that bend at our touch; of the distant and the dead; of the dim past and the mysterious future: there is always so much to talk about on such a day

and in such a spot as this. We will read, too. Tasso shall tell us the sweet tale of Aminta, or Ariosto paint again the true-hearted Isabella, or Francesca call forth new tears to moisten the dark page of the *Commedia*. Perhaps, too, some little brook may run murmuring through the vineyard and carry us back to the *chiare fresche e dolci acque*; and then Petrarca and Chiabrera will fill the hour with the pangs and the transports of love. Before you are aware of it, the day is nearly gone, and you still have your dinner to eat, which, with music and dance, and pleasant converse and rosy wine, (and the Italians, you remember, seldom overleap the gifts of moderate Bacchus,) runs deep into the afternoon, leaving you silence and twilight for your companions home. And, oh! how welcome is a twilight walk at the close of such a day! a day well spent, a day snatched from the headlong current, to be filled with kindly thoughts, with gentle influences, with a healing and purifying and strengthening power; to sink into the heart like summer rain, and call forth all those deeper sympathies and nobler aspirations, which wither and droop and die in the dusty thoroughfares of life.

Horace, no doubt, passed many such a day, crowned with simple myrtle, with Homer or Anacreon, or perhaps some new piece of his own or of his companions to read; and what glorious companions Virgil and Varius must have been. But soon the doors of the great are opened to him; the rich man seeks out the poor freedman's son, and receives him into his intimacy. How sweetly the time flowed on, with friendship and poetry to shed their sunbeams on its current. Nobody ever felt more keenly than Horace what a blessing friendship is. For him it was a second life, a reduplication of his own existence, the only way of developing all those elements of happiness and good, which nature had implanted in his heart. The Romans knew but little of love as we know it; and that exhaustless spring of all pure and great things which wells forth with such deep melodies in the sunshine of home, was almost a sealed fountain for them. And therefore friendship was taught to take its place, and meet, as far as any substitute can do it, that irrepressible instinct of every genial nature. You feel that there is no exaggeration in Horace's devotion to his friends. His whole life shows how firmly he had grappled them to his soul. They were the half of it, for whose preservation he offered up the most fervent prayers and invocations, nor knew either shame or measure to his yearnings after them when gone. No wonder that Mæcenas loved him so.

What a happy day it was for him when he was made master of the Sabine farm, that home of his longing, that little sanctuary amid the mountains, where he could watch the expanding leaf, and listen to the struggling brook, and slake his thirst at the fountain, and feel that fountain, brook, and leaf were all his own. And then he had always loved the mountains so. Did any body ever live in Italy and not love them? They meet you there at your first step, on the very threshold of the peninsula, and it is only through their dark ravines and over their precipitous crags that you can gain access to this garden of nature. From the plains of Lombardy you may trace their long line as far as eye can reach, swelling darkly upward towards the sky, with here and there a bolder peak, that gleams high above its fellows in its mantle of perpetual snow, while around its shaggy sides and broken base the very shadows seem like forests. On the Appenines they lead you through green and silent valleys, over slopes shaded by the vine and the olive, which, gradually disappearing as you ascend, leave you to the cold fir and the ocean murmur of the pine. Suddenly the scene changes. The road turns to the heart of the mountain, passing under the branches of old forests and the shattered walls of some feudal castle well known in tradition and song; while some torrent, chilled and swollen by the snows that have just mingled with its waters, brawls beside your path and calls forth a thousand echoes from the crags. As you wind along the bottom of the dell, the precipices seem to draw nearer and nearer to each other, shutting you in on every side, above and below, behind and before, beetling over your head and casting their wild shadows at your feet. Another turn, and they open their broad arms like the unfolding of a mantle, receding at each step with a gentle yet fuller expansion, till a valley or a plain, with olive orchards and vineyards and hamlets and flocks and herds, lies spread, as it were by magic, before you. A weight seems lifted from your soul; the very blood flows quicker in your veins; it is as when the sun comes out at the noon of a tempestuous day; you cannot describe, much less define what you feel, but you would spring down the descent with a bound, and shout till every peak and crag re-echoed with your voice.

But the suggestive character of Italian scenery is nowhere felt so deeply as in those scenes in which the mountains are united in one landscape with the sea and the plain. The feelings awakened by the contemplation of the sea and of an extensive plain are in one respect similar, for they both



derive their strength from that powerful but indefinite sensation which is excited by the perception of immensity. Yet how different they are in their details. The sky spans and overarches the sea as it does the plain. The sight knows no bound but the airy line where the blue of heaven and ocean meet. Immensity, boundless, unfathomable space; for as the heavens rise above, the waters roll beneath, and what human organs can measure or assign limits to their extent? The succession of the waves itself has nothing monotonous in it. They comb and break upon the shore at your feet, and afar off some gigantic billow heaves its vast bulk above the level of the main, and swells misty and indistinct on the blue line of the horizon. And as you gaze upon them, it is not merely in the immensity that your mind is lost; but you think too of the thousands that lie buried beneath those depths, of the terrific awakening of the resistless element. And if your own fate has led you over that pathless space; if from day to day you have seen the sun rising from the wave to return to it again; if you have studied the clouds that girded his pillow, to trace in their folds the coming calm or breeze or tempest, how will your thoughts fly to the solitary ship, which, while you stand in security on the shore, has felt, though far beyond the reach of your vision, the dash of the same billow that breaks idly at your feet, the impulse of the same gale that fans your brow.

From the plain not a sound arises. Smoke curls afar off; a tree traces its flexile lines upon the sky; perhaps, too, the hut of a shepherd; and there is a distant movement, you know not whether of human beings or of the tall grass bending to the wind. And when the stars come forth from their blue dwellings and look down upon you so kindly, you turn to them with an instinctive affection, a swelling of the heart, to think that they and you are works of the same hand. Others too from this breathing plain are looking on them, and rejoicing in their gaze. And your thoughts follow them all to their homes; to the shepherd, as he stretches himself by his fold, and blessing them once more for their soothing beams, closes his wearied lids; to the hamlet or the vineyard, where the voice of mirth rises light and pure on the dewy air. And what matters it that your lots run not together; that ye know not one another with the knowledge and the ties of man? The same sky bends over you all, and the same stars that shed their light on your festivity will shine on your graves.

But it is in the presence of the mountains, that man holds the highest and most ennobling communion with nature.

They rise in stern and solemn majesty, lifting their hoary peaks above the clouds, and our thoughts and our hopes rise with them. Soaring silently upward, the line where the atmosphere rests upon their summits seems a consecrated spot, set apart for purer thoughts and holy musings. What a rapture to stand there, with the world and the clouds beneath, and no sound around you but the solemn voices of the air, to gaze upon the sun at mid-day, on the soft light of the moon, on the sweet, familiar faces of the stars! Every thing else seems so changeable, so much like man himself. The plain is ploughed, and the harvest is garnered thereon; even the ocean becomes the pathway and the minister of man: but those peaks that tower on high, those walls that rest on granite masses or have been piled up by volcanoes, are the dwelling-place and the throne of Nature herself. For ages, the storm has beat and the sun has shone upon them; cities, generations, nations, have bloomed and faded at their feet, and still they stand, the same for you as for your fathers, and the same when your remotest lineage shall be no more.

But we are wandering far enough from Horace. Forgive us, kind reader. There is something in the genial bard which carries us back, in spite of ourselves, to the scenes that he loved so well; and we never yet could look down from Tibur on the Campagna and the Mediterranean, or turn to gaze on that stern mountain chain which fills up so large a portion of the picture, without thinking how often and how fondly he had looked upon them too. His last years were passed amid these wondrous scenes; and wondrous and lovely too, as they are, there is not one of them, from sunny slope to mountain vale, that does not look more lovely for our remembrance of him. If you would enjoy Italy aright, store your mind with classic recollections. Let the poets be your guide-book, and the landscape your interpreter. Let the wind come laden with familiar voices. Let the sunny vale recall some sunnier ode. Let the sweet music of the rivulet mingle with some melodious verse, and fragrant thoughts will spring up in your memory, as the flowers spring up on its banks. Then you will feel, as you never felt before, how intimate the connection is between thought and imagery; why the ancients painted nature as they did, in outline, rather than in detail; how those three or four lines can fill the mind as completely as a crowded canvas; and why they loved to look and feel, rather than analyze and describe.

It is easy to conceive how happily his last years must have glided by him in scenes like these. The daily enjoyment of

society that he loved, and the frequent communing with Nature, had given him a keener relish for life, without wedding him to it; and he would seem to have followed for himself the rule which he has taught so well, of making the most of the present without seeking to pry with a fatal curiosity into things which lay beyond his control. We love to dwell upon the last years of his life. It is so pleasant to think that those who have contributed so much to our happiness were happy themselves. We love to think of his death, too, for it came when life had lost its charms. Virgil had gone before him, and now Mæcenas was taken too, and why should he remain? He had enjoyed much; he had obtained all that he had ever asked for, friendship and fame, and the calm pleasures of the golden mean. There is but little room for physical suffering in cases like these, and death never seems less terrible than when it begins with the heart. There is many a beautiful association with the Esquiline, but none so beautiful as that of the great men who chose it for their dwelling-place and their grave. We can barely guess where Horace's house may have stood; we know nothing about his grave. But no matter. His ashes have mingled with that dust and made it sacred. They have consecrated the whole hill, and given a laurel freshness to every vine and shrub. His genial spirit lingers around it with cheering and soothing and strengthening suggestions. It is so pleasant to think that such men have lived! so elevating to feel that there are ties which neither time nor death can sever.

When we first took up our pen, it was our firm intention to enter at once into a critical examination of the volume before us. But there is a fascination in the name of Horace which we have never been able to resist, and thus we have been led off into all these aberrations, for which we will now humbly entreat the reader's pardon, and go back to our work. And in the first place, we were exceedingly glad to see this edition, because we believe that it was very much wanted. There is no author who repays you more richly for patient study, and none who stands more in need of judicious commentation. In this respect, the editions which are commonly used in our schools seem to us to be singularly defective. They are the productions of learned men, but they do not give the student the kind of assistance that he requires. Every study has a two-fold object, knowledge and discipline. We wish to learn all that there is to learn about the subject that we are studying, and we wish to learn it in such a way as to make the learning of other things easier, and the appli-



cation of our knowledge effective. When the new stock has been added to our treasure, we wish to feel that it has brought us something besides facts with it. We would wish to feel stronger and wiser, to look around us more intelligently, with clearer perceptions and broader views, and the consciousness that our grasp is firmer and more tenacious than before. Not but what there is a charm, an indescribable charm, in knowledge itself, and happy hours in tracing the thoughts of others. But to enjoy them as we ought, we must feel that we too know how to think, that we have a standard in our own minds by which we can test thought, and one which we know how to use. Now this is the work of discipline, the primary object of all our early studies, and the result of knowledge properly acquired.

Suppose, then, that with these views, you enter upon the study of an ancient classic, and, to come directly to the point, let that classic be Horace. You say to yourself, beforehand: "This is an author whom I wish to study, and to study in such a way as to be able to say, when my task is done, that I understand him well, and shall henceforth read every other poet more understandingly for the way in which I have read him. In the first place, there is the language, with its peculiarities of form and construction, and I would wish to know which of them belong to the author and which to the subject; what materials he had to begin with, and what he was obliged to engraft from his Grecian models on the native tree. Then there are the various styles, the grave and the gay, the simple and the rich, the playful and the biting, the pleasing description and the passionate outpouring of feeling, epistle, satire and ode; all these, too, I must learn to discriminate, and tell what belongs to each. There are his thoughts also, which, first of all, I must interpret correctly, and tell which of them paint the man and which the times; which were true only when they were written, and which will be true for ever. There is his imagery, the true key to a poet's habits of observation and thought, which will show you at once whether he painted things as he saw them, or drew from his fancy; looked with his own eyes, or with the eyes of other men. There is his verse, which will tell you whether he wrote from the music that was in his soul, or merely tortured words into prosodiac submission. And lastly, there are allusions innumerable, to manners and customs, and traditions and history, and opinions and men, all of which I must try to understand or give up understanding

my author. Now what part of this must I do for myself, and what must my editor do for me?"

If you have studied your grammar well, you ought to be familiar with all that belongs to the general language, and would hardly thank a man for telling you which verb requires a genitive and which a dative, or any thing else that you could find out for yourself by a few minutes' reflection. But if you meet a form which you cannot account for by any common rule, or which might lead to a different interpretation if you were to construe it differently, you would think that your editor had forgotten his own school-days, if he should leave you to grope through it in the dark. Neither would you feel that you ought to be left altogether to yourself for divining the peculiarities of the author's language and style. Horace is fond of Hellenisms, and many of them are given in the grammar; but then, again, there are some where a few words from the editor would help you wonderfully. His construction is simple, though elaborate. He uses words with a curious felicity. If your attention is drawn to these points by an occasional remark, you will naturally follow out the inquiry yourself, and feel what a pleasing and instructive one it is. But then, again, there is something for the teacher to do in the class-room; and there is a great deal in style, too, which addresses itself to the ear, and which nothing but repeated reading can make you feel. This is the case, in part, with those diversities of manner which distinguish, or ought to distinguish, different kinds of composition. Your ear must distinguish the grave march, the elastic spring, and the familiar flow, or nothing will ever do it for you. We were talking once with Thorwaldsen about harmony of proportions, and expressing our admiration for his singular perception of it. "I cannot tell you why it is so," said the great old man, "but a false proportion makes precisely the same impression upon me as a false note in music." And so it must be in style and verse: you must read again and again, and never suffer yourself to grow weary in reading, till your ear has learnt to tell you at once what is right and what is wrong. Nothing in Horace is more beautiful than the imagery by which he illustrates or embellishes a thought, and the truth, in most cases, of the thought itself. He looked upon nature with an exquisite feeling for all her aspects, and on man with a keen perception of his weakness, and an expansive sympathy for his pleasures and hopes. There is so much truth in what he says, that hundreds have been proud to repeat it after him, and hundreds, too, have been led by it to thoughts

that they would never, perhaps, have hit upon without him. Then, again, there are many things that similar circumstances might naturally have suggested to a man who had never read Horace, if such an unhappy phenomenon could be found. Now, to trace these out through the different forms which they have assumed in different literatures and different ages, is one of the most delightful of tasks, and the editor who should neglect to put you upon the track by a few apposite examples, would neglect a very important part of his duty. Among the allusions, there are many which a single line will explain sufficiently, and time be gained thereby for greater difficulties. There are others, which involve important questions of history, or geography, or mythology, all of which are, or ought to be, answered in the classical dictionary. To encumber your notes with the answers, or introduce long extracts from a book that ought to be at every student's elbow, is a very easy way of making a book, but a very bad one for making a scholar. In all these things, the editor's duty is clear enough: he must do for the student every thing that the student cannot reasonably be expected to do for himself. He must remove the obstacles that would discourage him, explain the difficulties which he has not the strength to grapple with, direct his attention from time to time to characteristic thoughts and forms, so as to accustom him to be on the lookout for them himself, and train him, from the beginning, to feel that every thing may be studied from many different points of view, and that he must learn to study them all if he would study aright.

Therefore, a great deal must be left to the student, and not a little to the teacher. It is in the recitation-room that the ground-plan must be enlarged and the work verified. A recitation in a classic should be a critical examination of the text and an expansion of the commentary. No real teacher will ever thank an editor for doing all his work to his hands, and leaving him nothing to his share but to see whether the parrot can repeat his phrase. He will want to get hold of the minds of his pupils, by making them feel his own, and keep up their attention by directing it to its proper objects. There is no duller place than a recitation-room where nothing is called in play but the memory; and none more hopeful than that to which the student brings a daily tribute of earnest labor, and carries away the materials and the desire for more.

And for the very same reason, we object to the filling up your notes with translations. This is the student's work and



not the translator's, and you are depriving him of one of the most precious results of classic study if you do it for him. Explain the real difficulties of construction, illustrate the passages which difference of manners or any other cause renders obscure, help him now and then to a choice word or appropriate expression which you have gleaned from your own reading, and which, limited as his must yet be, he would be unlikely to find; but if you want to make a scholar of him, never think of translating. Why should you, when one of the objects of his study is to get a clearer insight into his own language, and there is no exercise like this for leading him right into the heart and genius of it? Not your anatomical translations, word for word, from the dictionary, and just as they stand, giving you about as just an idea of the original as a skeleton does of a man. None of your slipshod paraphrases either, three words to one, and each carrying you ten steps further from your text—a kind of a tallow-candle illumination of a grotto that only asks for a single sunbeam to blind you by its brilliancy. These are not translations, but perversions—the work of a traitor instead of a translator, as the Italian proverb has it. But a cautious, elaborate, exact rendering into your own tongue of every word and form for which you can find an equivalent, preserving studiously the characteristics of the author, and yet constructed so naturally, with such freedom and grace, as to be neither harsh nor obscure to those who are unable to read the original. One year of such translations, oral and on paper, tying the student down to a model which he cannot choose but copy, and leaving him none of those get-offs, which come so easy in original composition, where, if he cannot say just what he wants to, he can recast his sentence and say something that looks like it,—one year, we say, of this, under a competent teacher, equally learned in both languages, will go further toward making a good writer, or a correct, copious and ready speaker, than twice that time in any other kind of exercise that was ever devised.

We began by saying that we believed a good edition of Horace to be very much needed; and our reason for this was, that the editions generally used in our schools and colleges seem all of them to do either too much or too little; to be downright *ponies*, if we may make bold to use a technical term, or to show a want of that practical familiarity with the recitation-room which is the first requisite for an editor. We will try to illustrate our meaning. Let us take an Ode, say the 34th of the first book: it is simple and short, but still

comprehensive enough for our purpose. Now before we turn to the notes, let us look a moment at the piece itself, and, as nearly as we can, with the feelings of a student who takes it up for the first time.

There can be no difficulty in making out the subject, which is evidently some change in his religious feelings. He has been neglectful of his duty to the gods, a remiss and negligent worshipper, and Jupiter recalls him to a sense of his weakness and dependence by a sudden manifestation of his power. This is all plain enough. But what was the real nature of his negligence? Was it a mere forgetfulness of external rites, or the deeper error of false doctrines, as the second line would seem to imply? Why should the thunder pealing out from a clear sky produce so sudden a change in his feelings? Here I want some help.

Let us come now to the words. There is no difficulty in the first line, *parcus et infrequens*. My dictionary will help me to it if I do not know the words already, and if my first question has been answered right I shall have no difficulty in applying them. *Insanientis philosophiæ*, however, is a curious expression; of course it must refer to something false in his theology, but it has a very odd sound. I wonder whether the ancients often indulged in these singular combinations? A word or two on the subject, Mr. Editor, if you can spare the time. The next two lines are clear enough. *Retrorsum vela dare* is a very pretty figure, but perfectly intelligible to any body that ever heard of a sail. *Diespiter*; evidently a compound, but how can you squeeze in the *dies*, and is it an old or a new form? *Per purum tonantes* seems to be the key to the whole story, and I should like to know something more about it than my text can give me. Perhaps some other poet, whom I can easily put my hand on, has spoken of the same thing, and if he has, I should like to know where I can find the passage. I must stop a moment, too, at *bruta tellus*, which belongs to the curious chapter of epithets which three or four comparisons would illustrate admirably. The next epithet is highly appropriate, but too simple to require a commentary; and Styx I remember all about, or at least I ought to. *Tenari* puzzles me a little. I never saw it before, that I recollect. Is it of importance enough to carry me to my dictionary; or would not a line from the editor do just as well, and save me some three minutes for something more serious? There is nothing to stop you in the next line. The three following are not quite so clear, but still I am pretty certain that I can make them out myself. *Apicem*

is a puzzler; how did it come to mean a crown? Why should *stridore* be applied to fortune? It is not the wheel, surely, though the venerable old Delphin used to say so, and was somewhat eloquent upon the occasion.\* Ten to one, too, I may have forgotten the peculiar use of *posuisse*. It is a grammatical question; the only one in the whole piece that carries you out of the common track, and without a reference I might forget to compare it with the *collegisse* of the first Ode, which is used in the same way.

Let any thoughtful student examine this Ode carefully before he turns to the notes, and see whether there is any thing else in it which he had not rather work out for himself. Certainly he must know enough about the rites of Roman religion to explain the *parcus et infrequens*, if indeed *parcus*, as it is interpreted by Moore and Osborne, can be reconciled with the *humilem feriemus agnam* and *immunis aram si tetigit manus*, or even with that general contempt for costly things which Horace not only professed but illustrated throughout all his life. The *insanientis philosophia* is necessarily understood from the introduction, which, of course, every editor will give; but it seems to us very questionable whether this is the proper place for expounding Epicurus. To do it with any effect, would require a couple of pages; and since, to understand many other things in Horace, you must have a general idea of the philosophy in which he once believed, the only sure way is to go directly to your classical dictionary and read it up once for all. *Consultus* belongs to the lexicon, and the student who needs to be told that it is used here just as it is in *juris consultus*, had better go back to his primer. And we would send him to the same venerable authority if he should chance to stumble at *iterare cursus relictos*, which is altogether too simple and natural an expression to call for commentary or translation. We cannot say the same for *diespiter*, which requires some explanation, both for the old form of the genitive *dies*, and the derivation of the word itself; and as not every body has got a Varro by him, (those who have, have got Müller's edition, we hope,) we are not certain but what Professor Lincoln would have done better to have given the whole passage, which is only two lines. But, at any rate, he has given you the substance of it, and tells you where to go for the original. *Per purum tonantes*,

\* As our old friend is a little out of date, we give the whole passage: "Vulbilis fortunæ rotam, ejusque rapidæ conversionis stridorem notat. Et quidem non sine gravi mortalium concussione, perturbatione, querimonia, fiunt illæ mutationes, quibus imperia ab his ad illos transferuntur."



too, as we have already said, requires a gloss ; but who could need to be told that *purum* refers to *cælum*, and who would not gladly go back to his Virgil and read again that noble description of the phenomena which followed the death of Cæsar, when

— cœlo ceciderunt sereno  
Fulgura —

is brought in with *comets dire* to close the terrific scene ? *Bruta tellus* has suggested to Professor Lincoln the *terram inertem* which Horace uses in the fourth Ode of the third book, the *terra immobilis* of Virgil, and Seneca's *immota tellus*. How happens it that Anthon and Moore have found nothing worthier of the student's attention than—Moore, that *bruta* in this place means *heavy, immovable*, which, with the exchange of *inert* for *immovable*, he would have found in Leverett, with this very passage for his authority ; and Anthon, that “By the *brute earth* is meant, in the language of commentators, *terra quæ sine sensu immota et gravis manet*,” an interpretation which a moment's reflection would probably have suggested to any mind that was not laboring under the same calamity. The note in his octavo edition was certainly much more to the purpose ; and the allusion to the old doctrine that the earth stood motionless in the centre of the universe, was both appropriate and in good taste. Very beautiful, too, is the development of the contrasted epithets *bruta* and *vaga*, which we find in a German commentator : “Sentit vim Jovis terra immobilis, sentiunt etiam flumina perpetuo motu agitata.” But still, this is a thought which the pupil ought to be required to develop for himself, and the only really practical and suggestive annotation is that of Professor Lincoln. *Tænari* has brought out a comment from all three : Anthon's, diffuse but valuable ; Moore's, a mere geographical indication ; Lincoln's, terse and comprehensive, as usual, and with another reference to Virgil. *Atlanteusque finis* is translated and commented by Anthon ; Moore gives us the *τῆρμονες Ἀτλαντικοί* of Euripides, to which we have nothing to object ; Lincoln assigns it to the domain of the classical dictionary, and indeed, how a Latin student could get so far and not know what this expression means in ancient geography, we are somewhat at a loss to conceive. *Valet ima summis mutare* is paraphrased, translated, and grammatically commented by Anthon, from whom we shall beg leave to differ, *toto cœlo*, in considering *summis* as an example of the instrumental ablative. Moore and Lincoln have left it to the student, who probably will not feel very much exhausted by any efforts

he may have to make in getting through it. *Attenuat*, too, is explained at length by Anthon, and the train of thought, which the student ought to be able to make out, if he can make out any thing, is expanded into a full exposition. Moore translates, or rather paraphrases it, and not very felicitously. Lincoln leaves it, where it belongs, to the student. *Apicem*, with the lines that follow it, are paraphrased by Anthon, commented by Moore, under the heads of *hinc*, *apicem*, *stridore*, *sustulit*, and *hic*; and by Lincoln under those of *apicem*, *stridore*, *posuisse*. We will give them all three, as a specimen, and let the reader judge for himself. We begin with Anthon, p. 308: "*Hinc apicem*, &c. From the head of this one, Fortune, with a sharp, rushing sound of her pinions, bears away the tiara in impetuous flight; on the head of that one she delights to have placed it. *Sustulit* is here taken in an aorist sense, as denoting what is usual or customary. As regards the term *apicem*, it may be remarked that, though specially signifying the tiara of Eastern royalty, it has here a general reference to the crown or diadem of kings."

Moore's comment runs into three notes, p. 269: "*Hinc*, 'from one;' *apicem*, *apex*, properly the crest on the helmet, was used for a diadem, and here stands for a badge of royal power.

"*Stridore*: the shrill sound made by wings cleaving the air. Fortune is always represented as winged.

"*Sustulit*: used as an aorist; *hic*, 'on another.'"

Lincoln has three, p. 344: "*Apicem*: The apex, properly a piece of olive-wood, worn by the flamines on the top of the head, came to be applied to the *pileus* or priestly tiara. (See Dict. Antiq., p. 67.) Here it means a crown. *Stridore*: rustling, i. e., of the wings, for Fortune was represented as winged. *Sustulit—posuisse*: See n. O. i., l. 4, on *collegisse*." And to show the style of his grammatical commentaries, we will give the note to which he here refers, p. 314: "*Collegisse*: The Latin poets, and some prose writers, use the perfect infinitive in many places, where, in translation, the English idiom requires the present. Of this usage, we have here an illustration; for others, see O. iii. 4, 52; Sat. i. 2, 28; ib. ii. 3, 187; Ars P. 168; ib. 455. See Z. § 590; also Kruger, § 477, A. 2. Reisig, in *Vorlesgg*, § 290, suggests that the poets resort to this use of the perfect wherever the present would be excluded by the metre."

We took up this Ode at a venture; any other would have given the same result. But the surest test of all would be the "Epistle to the Pisos," for in this it is not merely a poem

that we are reading, but the critical canons to which a life of study, meditation, and original composition had led a man of sound judgment and exquisite taste. A rigorous analysis, therefore, is indispensable, in order to follow the general train of thought, and trace the connection and bearing of the particular developments and illustrations.\* Professor Lincoln's commentary on this celebrated epistle is clear and copious, a model of the style in which such works should be commented, meeting all the student's wants, and guiding him surely and firmly where it would have been impossible for him to have guided himself.

The introduction fills little more than a page, but contains all that the student needs to be told in this form. The notes run out to twenty pages, which, by the admirable clearness and precision with which they are written, are equivalent to full thrice that number in that diffuse, unpractical style which commentators love so much. The general analysis is admirable, as all those who know how hard it is to do such a thing well will acknowledge. P. 528:—

The course of thought which the poet pursues, seems to be, in general, as follows: (The details will be given in italics, in the notes.)

I. He first lays down and illustrates some general precepts, applicable alike to all kinds of poetical composition, (1-152.) II. Thence he passes to a series of rules and historical notices of the drama, with chief reference to the tragedy of the Greeks, (153-284.) III. Then, after touching upon the aversion of the Roman poets to slow and laborious composition, (285-294,) and the absurd notion with which it was connected, concerning the frenzy of poetic inspiration, (295-303,) he goes through in the rest of the piece with a course of critical instruction for the poet; whence he may derive his resources and his culture, what are the noble aims and attainments of excellence in his art, and what the fatal consequences of ignorance and error, (304-end.)

This general analysis is now to be connected with the details belonging to each head. The first division, extending from the 1st to the 152d verse, inclusive, as we have seen, comprises general precepts:—

1-152. General precepts. The principal points are these: Simplicity and unity of design; its necessity illustrated, and some of the modes of its violation, (1-37;) choice of a subject, order, use of words, (38-72;) the different species of poetry, and their respective measures, (73-85;) the necessity of a practical knowledge of the province and character of each kind of poetry, (86-89,) *illustrated (from the drama) in regard to the*

\* Perhaps the young student will not object to our referring him, in this connection, to the examination of "Hurd's Commentary," by Gibbon, in the abstract of his readings, which, with the extracts from his journal, ought to be in the hands of every student who wishes to learn the art of "hiving wisdom with each studious year." V. p. 408 et seq., ed. of 1837.



appropriate style of tragedy and comedy, their diction, (90-118,) and characters and subjects, (119-135;) the beginning of a poem, (*not dramatic alone, but of any poem,*) (136-152.)

Coming now to a still minuter analysis, he takes up each principle in order:—"Lines 1-23. In these lines Horace inculcates the precept that in every poem there must be simplicity and unity of design. 1-4. To illustrate by contrast the importance of unity, the poet describes a picture of a monstrous creature, composed of the most incongruous elements. Comp. Virg. *Æn.* iii. 426, et seq." Then follows the verbal commentary with the same judicious selection and in the same concise and lucid style, of which we have already given a specimen. The difficult and controverted passages, too, are discussed with appropriate fulness. If any body doubt it, let him read the note on *Difficile est proprie communia dicere*, on the 535th page. With the 153d line begins a new division, which is again resolved into its appropriate elements, each studied minutely and in order.

Now can any thing short of a thorough acquaintance with the whole piece, and a clear conception of the rhetorical and critical principles which it contains, be the result of such a study of the "*Ars Poetica*" as this style of commentation supposes? When we add that Professor Lincoln's edition is the only one which contains this thorough-going analysis and these broad views of this precious code of taste, we believe that we have said enough to show how much it was needed.

Another thing which cannot be too highly commended in this edition, is the scholar-like spirit and tone which pervade it. Nothing is more provoking than to have a man talk to you in loose and slovenly, or stiff and pedantic English, which ought to be whipped out of a school-boy, about the exquisite taste, the well-chosen words, the terseness and vigor and harmonious sentences of a classic. No wonder that the friends of classical literature should every now and then be called upon to fight their battles over again, when the lists are disfigured by such champions as these. A commentary should be an illustration as well as an interpretation, an example, like the *περὶ ἡθῶν* of the subject which it treats. The brazen faces of some men are as unaccountable as their consciences. They have not even the seeds of human affection in them. They will live all their lives long with a fellow-being, or rather with the best part of him, his thoughts, without ever feeling a touch of sympathy. They are like that Parisian naturalist, who has passed the last ten years in a cel-

lar with bats, feeding them till they have learnt to come at his call, then putting their eyes out to try whether they can find their way to him without them, and finally dissecting them to the last bone and fibre in order to see how the curious little things are put together. Just think what a picture we should have had if Horace could but have seen them!

The style of Professor Lincoln's notes is clear and compact, without aiming at any other beauty than that which results from its perfect adaptation to the subject. It seems to have been his object to say in pure English all that his reader had a right to expect from him, and to say it in such a way as not to make Horace shudder. The analyses at the head of each commentary are written with that directness and simplicity which are the only appropriate ornaments of this kind of composition. In the life of Horace he has found ample scope for beauties of a higher order. The subject itself must have been a most inviting one for so enthusiastic an admirer of the old bard. Without confining himself to a mere expansion of the meagre sketch of Suetonius, or copying any of his five hundred predecessors, he has gone directly back to the original sources, and chiefly to the best and surest of all, the poet himself. Horace has told us so much about himself, that every scholar feels as if he had seen him with his own eyes, and heard him talk, and passed many a merry hour with him. Now this is just what a sympathetic biographer wants, and if he will only put his materials together with skill and taste, he will be sure to inspire his reader with some share of his own enthusiasm. Professor Lincoln has done this with eminent success. He has told the story of the poet's life, a simple one in itself, though not unmixed with care, in a very graceful and pleasing style, and with those infusions of phrase and expression from his author's works which, when judiciously chosen and well translated, give a singularly warm and truthful coloring to a picture. We agree with him fully in his opinion of Horace, both as a poet and as a man; and we were especially pleased with the sound judgment with which he meets that stale old charge of plagiarism, which has been the favorite refuge of little minds ever since the first lyre was strung. We trust that this beautiful specimen of literary history is but an earnest of what Professor Lincoln will some day do for the whole field of Roman literature. The subject is a very beautiful and a very important one, and we know of nobody so well qualified to do it full justice.

In re-reading what we have written, we find that we have laid ourselves open to a misinterpretation to which we

should be very unwilling to submit. In comparing Professor Lincoln's labors with those of other editors we have been led to speak unfavorably of the edition of Professor Anthon. This our convictions, our sincere and unprejudiced convictions, compelled us to do, in spite of our great respect for that eminent editor. No man in his senses would ever think of calling in question the high scholarship of Professor Anthon. He is a man of extensive erudition, unwearied industry, and an enthusiasm above all praise, in the cause of classical literature. This is a tribute which every fair-minded scholar will pay him, and which is justly due to a life of laborious and patient study. But we believe that the style of commentation which he has adopted is not the true one, not that which is best calculated to make good scholars, and to secure both to pupil and teacher that kind of assistance which each has a right to require. But our views upon this subject, and our reasons for them, have already been given in full, and our only reason for returning to it again was our unwillingness to be classed among the detractors of a well-earned renown. If there is any thing which, in our innermost hearts, we utterly abhor, it is that vile spirit of enmity and injustice which degrades the republic of letters to a race-course, and fills it with scenes that would dishonor a dram-shop. There is nothing more humiliating than to see great things belittled by little spirits, and the power that was given for noble purposes perverted to the instrument of vulgar passions. It has been our lot to stand by the graves of many great men, of those who hallow to our souls the green turf and marble slab, although we may never have looked upon the form that is silently crumbling beneath; and then, when we have read by the same sunbeam the epitaphs of some who would seem to have begrudged each other the blessed light of day, and who stole so large a portion from their immortality that they might devote it to envy and hatred, an inexpressible sadness has come over us, and we have turned away with loathing, where we would gladly have knelt down and poured forth our gratitude. Our literature is as yet at its dawn; we have as broad a field before us as human heart could wish, and bright with every promise of usefulness and glory. Would that no idle feuds nor petty jealousies might disgrace it. We have all been wrong too often, to inflict harsh blame upon our companions in life's slippery path, for not being always right. There were many noble things in Godfrey of Bouillon; he was valiant, he was generous, he was wise. But never did he seem greater than when he refused to wear the insignia



of his triumph on the spot which had been consecrated by the sublimest of martyrdoms. And this whole world is consecrated to martyrdom; is consecrated to toil, and self-denial, and tears, and bitterness of heart. Would that there might be some Godfreys amongst us, to show us what wreath blooms fairest on a victor's brow.

One word more about Professor Lincoln and Horace, and we have done. We look upon this volume as one which will exercise a great influence upon the cause of classical learning, and an influence of the healthiest kind. It will help students in the difficult art of studying, attract them by the new vistas which it opens into pleasant scenes, and strengthen their minds by the judicious exercise of their native powers. It must be a cheering thing to have done so much for so noble a cause. For the cause of classic learning is indeed a great and a noble one. It has done much for the world in times past, and has still much to do for it in the future. It is connected with many a beautiful story of softening manners, and hearts that grew refined, and sympathies that expanded, and genius that learnt to soar, under its gentle and invigorating influences. It carries us back to generous minds which learnt from it to labor for us, as they who built up its imperishable monuments had labored for them. It stores our memories with ennobling recollections, opens our minds to higher conceptions, reveals new beauties in nature and new wonders in art, has words of gentle warning for the intoxication of joy, and steals with a sweet and dewy freshness into the withered heart of care.

*Haud ignara mali miseris succurrere disco.*

What purer lesson can be drawn from the chastenings of sorrow?

*Homo sum, humani nihil a me alienum puto.*

What does it leave for the most ardent philanthropy but to develop and apply its all-comprising truth? It would be easy to fill pages with passages like these. It is always easy to call up beautiful thoughts, and bright examples, and grave warnings, and eloquent exhortations from it, and it is good for us to do so. It is good for us to cast aside now and then the shackles of immediate care, and go back in thought and live a while with them who, though they knew us not, yet thought and lived for us. We would not for all that the future can give be cut off from this communion with the past. The literature of our own days has many precious things in it, great and consoling truths, beautiful and elevating teachings; but we

would not for these forget our Milton, and still less renounce the blessed privilege of listening, at least, to the murmurs of that fountain from which he drew such deep and inspiring draughts.

We remember, and it is one of the pleasant recollections of our childhood, a venerable old man who has long been in his grave. His life had been one of mingled adventure and repose. The Revolution found him at his studies in the quiet spot where we are now writing; it saw him patient and enduring on that toilsome march to Quebec; a prisoner where Montgomery fell, and profiting by his recovered freedom to hasten back to the army and bear a foremost part in the brilliant defense of Redbank. He had been one of the first, when the war was over, to repair to England, and renew, by the natural ties of commerce, the connection which had been severed by unnatural political subjection; the first to unfurl in the China seas that new banner which was to float so proudly over every sea; then guiding the plough once more, with contented hand, through the fields which his fathers had sown; and at last reposing from his long labors, and gently moving downward towards the grave, in the midst of the children who had grown up to thank and reward him for his cares. Kind-hearted old man! with what pleasure do we recall that genial smile and tranquil brow! How beautiful did old age seem, with such treasured wisdom and so many soothing recollections to blend with its deepening shades! This old man had learnt in his boyhood to love Horace, and he loved him still. His copy, if we remember right, was a common English edition, such a one as was most likely to be found in the colonies in his schoolboy days. But that copy had been with him through all the vicissitudes of his chequered career, a firm and cheerful and ever welcome friend. And now that he needed it no longer for the practical purposes of life, now that so many of its lessons had been so well applied, so many of its precepts engrafted into him so deeply that they had become a part of his nature, he still loved to keep it by him, and read it daily, and talk of it with those whom he loved, and especially with those who, like ourselves, had still to choose their guide and friend. It was from him that we learnt to love the glorious old bard, and to feel what a power there is in those teachings which come down to us from afar, fragrant with the benedictions of thousands who in every age and clime, and in almost every sphere of life, have laid them up in their hearts and cherished them as its richest treasures.

## ART. VI.—WORDSWORTH CONSIDERED AS A RELIGIOUS POET.

1. *The Prelude; or, Growth of a Poet's Mind. An Autobiographical Poem.* By WILLIAM WORDSWORTH. New-York: D. Appleton & Co.
2. *Memoirs of William Wordsworth, Poet Laureate, D.C.L.* By CHRISTOPHER WORDSWORTH, D.D., Canon of Westminster. Edited by HENRY REED. Vol. I. Boston: Ticknor, Reed & Fields.

THE death of Wordsworth, a little more than a year since, and the announcement that his "great posthumous poem" was shortly to appear, to be followed by his biography, excited a feeling in the literary public highly favorable to the reception of both works. It was impossible to look back without emotion on such a long and unique literary career; while the fact that the poet's most elaborate production, with reference to which he had most jealously studied his own powers, and in which his poetic genius and constructive capacity were to find their completest exemplification, was as yet given to the world only in part, was fitted to awaken high expectation. The appearance of the "Prelude" brought with it an instantaneous sense of disappointment. Thirty-six years had elapsed since "The Excursion, being a portion of the 'The Recluse,'" was published, and it was now announced that the "philosophical poem," to which the author's other works were all described as but the accessories, was still a fragment. Before undertaking it he had carefully reviewed his mental history, to ascertain his qualifications for attempting it. This history he embodied in *The Prelude*, addressed to Coleridge, in the conclusion of which he avows his confidence that the effort would not be presumptuous. But it does not appear that after the publication of *The Excursion* he made any sensible progress toward the completion of his original design.

The *Prelude*, if perused with the expectation naturally excited by its history, or by the rapturous eulogium of Coleridge,—

———An Orphic song indeed!  
A song divine, of high and passionate thoughts  
To their own music chanted!—

will seem at first hardly to sustain itself. Coleridge heard it recited. There must have been profound sorcery in the



author's voice to invest it with such transcendent glory. But apart from these considerations, if thoughtfully studied, it must be confessed a production of extraordinary power, reviewing the author's mental progress from infancy to the maturity of manhood with a wonderful introspective vision, and portraying the natural and social influences that shaped his character with a vividness of fancy and felicity of diction, not seldom rising to a majestic harmony, to which the coldest intellect must render homage. It is not likely that the most acute self-inquisitor, looking back through a vista of thirty years to survey the development of his faculties, could certainly assign the origin of all his mental peculiarities. They spring up from seeds hidden, he knows not when, and are trained into unforeseen forms by powers whose agency he cannot detect. If, therefore, some things here asserted of "the growth of a poet's mind" appear to the sober judgment more fanciful than real, it is no more than was to have been expected from the nature of the subject. Making every necessary deduction on the score of substance or form, it is a worthy expression of a great genius, and must maintain a high place in the estimation of thinking men.

The *Memoirs of Wordsworth*, the first volume of which lies before us, furnish the complement of his inimitable autobiography. They make no very high pretensions. With the conviction that "a poet's life is written in his works," and the desire that his writings, without any attempt at critical vindication beyond what he had himself from time to time furnished, "should stand by themselves and plead their own cause before the tribunal of posterity," Mr. Wordsworth in effect forbade the composition of any formal biography. The present essay, therefore, professes to be merely "a biographical commentary on the poet's works." But without any direct prohibition, his literary executor must have been restrained by the necessity of the case within nearly the same limits that were thus imposed. Wordsworth's life was singularly uneventful, and left few materials for a biographer. It can be summed up in two or three sentences. He was born in 1770, received his preparatory education at Hawkshead, in Lancashire, was entered in 1787 at St. John's College, Cambridge, and on leaving the University, spent a year in France. At the close of 1792 he returned to England, and was shortly after enabled, by a bequest from his friend Raisley Calvert, to devote himself to literature as a profession;—from which time the dates of his successive works, his occasional tours, and his elevation to the Laureateship in

1843, constitute the principal epochs in his long career. Nor was the lack of external incident made up, as in the case of Southey, Scott, and other contemporaries, by a voluminous correspondence. His habits, physical and mental, were averse to epistolary labor. He had no liking for the pen, and it was only by the affectionate industry of his wife and sister, who made themselves his voluntary amanuenses, that many of his minor poems, muttered to the air in his favorite walks, were committed to paper and preserved to the world. Seldom has one so keenly alive to the pleasures of friendship, judging from the testimony of this volume, left so few letters for public or private gratification. "Partly from some constitutional infirmities," he says, (in a letter without date, but apparently written in 1802,) "and partly from certain habits of mind, I do not write any letters unless upon business, not even to my dearest friends." It must be admitted that his biographer has worked up the materials at his disposal with much skill. We will not say that the minuteness of detail in some parts might not have been spared to advantage; but admirers of the works on which it is a "commentary" will prize the whole, and others, we fear, would take little interest in it were it ten times better. Yet the indifferent might be won to a livelier appreciation of the *poems* by the vivid delineation of the *man*.

The grand features of nature in the romantic region where his lot was cast gave to the poet's imagination its greatest riches. Not less happy was he in his home and his life-long friendships. The engaging purity of his domestic life gave a charm to his writings that no splendor of genius, unhallowed by such influences, could have imparted. It is good to contemplate such a life. It accompanies his verse as with a low, continuous strain of sweet music, causing its accents to sink more deeply into the heart. The record furnished in these memoirs, imperfect as it must be, makes a most pleasing impression, and read in connection with his poems, which are referred to on almost every page, cannot fail to give freshness to the enjoyment derived from their study. It is with some reluctance that we must turn away from these memorials of a personal and literary career that can never cease to be eminently instructive, to examine the poet's works in that relation which most appropriately concerns us as Christian reviewers.

Wordsworth, during a long life, had many critics and comparatively few readers. We have no intention, therefore, of increasing that disproportion, by reviving any of those vexed questions of literary criticism, that were enough to fix the poet's name immovably among the *celebrities* of his day,

even if he had not possessed sufficient energy of nature to insure a place in human memories by his own achievements. Whether he is to be considered a star of primary or of lesser magnitude in the poetic heavens; whether his theories of imagination, fancy, and poetic diction are founded in truth; what may be the exact merits of the Scottish Pedlar, or of Peter Bell, as creations of genius, and whether it was wise to brave the public taste by linking some of his highest poetry with these questionable heroes; the exact significance of his ode on the "Intimations of Immortality," and other equally stubborn questions, may safely be left to the wise judgment of readers who are interested in their just decision. The race of those who would utterly cast him out as an intruder among the inspired sons of song, never very numerous, must now be nearly extinct. He has some ardent admirers who would exalt him next to Milton, and a few detractors who would depress him below those "wits" of the eighteenth century to whom he himself almost grudged the name of poet. But both together do not compose a very large proportion of the public. The voice of hostile criticism, partly wearied by the poet's sturdy, persistent defiance, partly overcome by the actual power of his verse, became softened and at last almost hushed. The praise, if not the reading, of Wordsworth has become "the fashion," and all silently assent to his eulogy. Yet we are inclined to think there is more of indifference than of admiration at the bottom of this acquiescence. Our publishing houses, unrestrained by any law of international copyright, and by no means backward to avail themselves of any man's popularity with the reading public, have exhibited no unseemly eagerness to compete for the profits of his works. That he has exerted an important influence is undeniable, but it has been gained mediately, through a limited number acting as conductors of his power to the many, who could not be brought into direct communication with his mind.

This state of things has had a peculiar effect on the character of much of the criticism (if criticism it may be called) to which his writings have been subjected. Without meaning to attribute conscious injustice to any reviewers, it is not unreasonable to suppose that the excessive contempt with which it was once fashionable to load his successive works, would have been very considerably diminished by the knowledge that a large number of readers were ready at once to sit in impartial judgment upon the poet and his critics. In like manner, since the tide has turned, many writers have indulged in a strain of eulogy, which we cannot help believing



would have been somewhat qualified, if they had really supposed the mass of readers would take the trouble to question its justice. So great, however, is the influence of his poetry, and so widely transmitted by a class of ardent thinkers for whom his meditative strains have a peculiar fascination, that it becomes a matter of no little interest to watch the tendencies of public opinion and taste, to interpose, if need be, a word of caution. For Wordsworth is no holiday singer. His are emphatically "poetical *works*." He deals with momentous themes, and challenges for his verse the most searching scrutiny. No apology is necessary, therefore, for attempting an inquiry into his merits as a religious poet.

To some, the suggestion of a doubt on this point will seem presumptuous. So often have they heard of "Wordsworth, the Christian poet,"\* that they will regard with no friendly eye any disparagement of his title to these sacred laurels. But such high honors are not to be lightly claimed or carelessly awarded. The question, however, is not a new one, and critics of no mean name (Professor Wilson, for example) have made as positive assertions upon the other side. But the matter is not to be settled by the dicta of any men, however respectable. It can only be concluded by an actual survey of what the poet accomplished, in its relations to the state of opinion around him, and to the religion of which he has been claimed as a chosen laureate.

It is to be remarked that the expression of religious ideas and emotions is often significant, not so much of the author's individual character, as of the prevailing sentiment of the community. In a society largely pervaded by the influence of religion, where Christian institutions have long been established, and Christian ideas have become closely interwoven with popular thought and feeling, there arises a sort of conventional reverence for sacred things, which naturally shows itself in all social and public action. Those to whom religion is the controlling principle of life are a minority, and often a

\* "Wordsworth will be read in the better days of the Christian church. His pure strains will be a feast to regenerate spirits. Beside Spenser, and Milton, and Cowper, he may take his seat on the hill of Zion. For the world's benefit, we are anxious that he should be fully identified with the *elect spirits*. Long has he contended for this high distinction. Sweet and immortal his reward!"—*Bib. Repository and Obs.*, vii. 198.

"Though in his elevation so far from us groundlings, that his light has but slowly reached us, we believe that he is surely destined to become the poet of Christendom, as he is the poet of Christianity."—*Ib. Second Series*, i. 233. "Our little planet is rolling on to her golden age, and to the millennial glory of the church. In that pure day, who can doubt that Wordsworth shall be still better beloved and appreciated?"—*Ib.* 238.

small minority. A much larger number give their assent to more or less of Christian doctrine; and beyond these a more numerous class may be found, who combine an undefined reverence for religion with a regard for public and private morals. In such a community the expression of irreligious notions, or even a refusal to recognize the authority of Christianity, does violence to public opinion. Thus, in our own country, for the most part, it is a matter of course that important popular gatherings, not seldom including political "mass meetings," shall begin their deliberations by acts of religious worship; that legislative bodies must have their chaplains; and that a profession of belief in the Christian religion is as customary a part of the inauguration of a chief magistrate as the oath of office. Popular literature, which is but the reflection of public sentiment, takes a similar tone. Nor is this trait of our literature, we are glad to believe, *merely* conventional. Even where it is not the spontaneous utterance of individual feeling, it may be the fruit of a true taste, which recognizes the beauty and power of the Holy Scriptures, and of the works of great masters who have drawn their inspiration thence; or the response of the heart to the just requirements and unspeakable rewards of moral duty, although defective notions of obligation prevent a cordial subjection to its acknowledged claims.

If the inherent energy of religious ideas, acting under a polity that imposes no restraint upon individual opinion, is sufficient to produce such effects, it is easy to see that their efficiency will be greatly increased where they are allied with the force of law, the institutions of government, and all the traditions of the State. This is not saying that the purity, the spiritual power, the highest interests of religion will be promoted by such a union; but that the supremacy of Christian ideas over public opinion, and their consequent recognition in all literature, art, and social observances, will be more complete and universal. Such is the case in England. Christianity has been judicially declared a part of the common law. The sovereign is defender of the faith and head of the church. The great majority of the people, from the font to the tomb, live in a succession of religious observances, formal, perhaps, and vaguely apprehended, but all characteristic developments of that pervading sympathy which constitutes them, in their own consciousness and the general consent, a Christian nation. The Universities are fenced by religious tests. Theology and ecclesiastical history belong to the usual course of a liberal education. British literature, therefore, has a

peculiar character. No arbitrary division of labor excludes religion from any part of it. There are religious papers and magazines, but few leading periodicals are *exclusively* secular. The principal Reviews discuss theological subjects with freedom and power, and often by the pens of laymen. No important question agitates the church, without enlisting on either side statesmen and men of letters, as well as bishops and doctors of divinity; while through a large portion of the current literature runs a noticeable vein of religious sentiment, that testifies how deep are its sources in the popular mind.

Now the mere circumstance that a poet, among such a people, exhibits in his verse a reverence for Christian truth, or occasionally gives expression to religious sentiments such as conform to the conventional standard of propriety, cannot reasonably be held sufficient to constitute him, by way of pre-eminence, a Christian poet. "Elegant extracts," or inelegant, taken by themselves, establish nothing. If they were admitted as conclusive, we should have some strange faces in the gallery of sacred poets. Dryden, whose dramas contain passages nauseously filthy, wrote some elaborate religious poems. Prior's tales are not regarded as models of decency, but he made paraphrases of Scripture that have a very edifying sound. Burns mingles the amatory, the sacred, and the profane, in a manner indescribable and inimitable; and Thomas Moore furnishes hymns for some very popular collections of psalmody.\* But the same considerations that detract from the positive force of these circumstances give them great negative significance. If a certain range of religious sentiment is so far accordant to the general feeling and taste that even vicious poets conform to it in some measure, he who seldom or never rises above it manifests a defect in his standard of thought, and gives evidence that religion has

\* Although aside from our present purpose, we cannot forbear saying that these contributions, in our judgment, do not greatly enrich our psalmody, on the score of devotion or of taste. Moore's range of thought and feeling is at an immense distance from that of prophets, apostles, and martyrs, and the voluptuous softness of his melodies mingles strangely with their solemn harmony. Even apart from this contrast, and judged by the ordinary laws of composition, some of his sacred pieces are of a low order of merit. In that commencing,

"Thou art, O God, the life and light  
Of all this wondrous world we see,"

there is something exquisitely bathetic in his comparing the stars of the firmament to the eyes in a peacock's plumage!—

"When night, with wings of starry gloom,  
O'ershadows all the earth and skies,  
Like some dark, beauteous bird, whose plume  
Is sparkling with unnumbered eyes," &c.



little power over his affections and his aims. It may not prove him an *anti-Christian* or *irreligious* poet, but it must extinguish all claims to become a favorite "in the better days of the Christian church."

That Wordsworth recognizes the truth and occasionally utters the language of Christianity, the most cursory reader of his works must perceive. But it will not be claimed that the great mass of his productions have any direct religious aim, or are even tinged with Christian ideas. Considering the large number of subjects he treated, and the lofty views he entertained of the poet's vocation,—views which imply a profound sense of obligation in regard to the exercise of his powers,—this feature of his works is remarkable, if we suppose him to have been eminently devout in his habitual feelings and purposes. It is one that has evidently attracted the attention of his religious eulogists. Indeed, we have seldom seen any attempt to demonstrate the piety of his writings by quotations, that did not include pieces in which he speaks *dramatically*, and which may, or may not, utter his own sentiments. Thus, the *Excursion* closes with a prayer uttered by the parish priest, conceived in a spirit of lofty devotion. It is evident that the poet might deem such language appropriate to the personage in whose mouth he puts it, without adopting it as his own. So of his "Inscriptions," which purport to have been made by *a hermit*, and other compositions that might be named. An exclusion of these would leave a still more marked disproportion between his religious writings and the total of his works. If, therefore, Wordsworth is to be acknowledged as a Christian poet, it cannot be for the sake of any considerable amount of professedly Christian poetry. If that title describes a poet who finds in the truths of Christianity his most potent inspiration, and who devotes to the service of Christianity his highest powers, it cannot be applied to him without some violence.

But it may be asked, Is it necessary that a Christian poet should always, or often, dedicate his verse to sacred themes? May not the piety of his heart be manifest in his views of life and nature, as a principle that underlies and controls his active powers? Are not purity, charity, gentleness, affections that embrace mankind and fasten themselves on all the Creator's works, evidences of a Christian spirit? And do not these, and other kindred virtues, joined to a sentiment of reverent obedience that habitually bows before the idea of duty, lend to the poetry of Wordsworth its most attractive lustre? Questions like these would be more appropriate, if

the object of our inquiry were to ascertain the genuineness of Wordsworth's personal piety. It is conceivable that an author may be a Christian, and write habitually in the exercise of a Christian temper, who, for reasons satisfactory to himself, commonly withholds his pen from treating of religious subjects; just as he might be interested in astronomy, without publishing any thing worth mentioning on his favorite study. Yet it would not be just to rank him distinctly as a Christian, any more than as an astronomical, writer. Thomson would never have been classed as a *descriptive* poet, if he had written nothing but his dramas and the *Castle of Indolence*, whatever *capacity* for excellence in descriptive poetry might have been discerned in those works. There seems to be no more propriety in applying to any one the title of a *Christian* poet, unless it describes the leading characteristic of his productions. We may grant him to be a Christian *and* a poet, but that is all. Yet, when we consider the nature of true poetry, as the language of the heart rather than of the inventive and reflective intellect,—as the expression of emotions that compel the utterance to transcend the common forms of language,—we confess that it is not easy to make such an admission except in the exercise of an expansive charity. The warmest emotions of a Christian are kindled by objects that eye hath not seen nor ear heard, but which are revealed to faith by the Word and Spirit of God. Receiving his gift of song, "the vision and the faculty divine," as one of the most precious that could be bestowed by the Father of lights, a Christian poet, it would seem, could do no less than to say with the sweet singer of Israel, "My heart is fixed; I will sing and give praise even with my glory;" or, as an older version has it, "with the best member that I have." It would be strange, indeed, if he could lavish the riches of his imagination every where except only where his highest affections are unalterably fixed!

To this view of the matter it may be replied, that the great excellence of Wordsworth's religious poems more than atones for their fewness. Such are the *Ode to Duty*, the *Thanksgiving Ode*, the *Ecclesiastical Sketches*, and portions of the *Excursion*. Reserving the *Excursion* (which is hardly to be ranked as a poem distinctively religious) for separate consideration, we must take leave to join issue on the merits of these productions. The *Ode to Duty* recognizes nothing more than the general notion of moral obligation. The *Thanksgiving Ode* acknowledges the power, providence and justice of God, which few Deists would take the trouble to deny.

The only idea peculiar to revealed religion, is the implied duty of expressing gratitude by private devotion and the ceremonies of public worship. The Ecclesiastical Sketches have been so much admired, that the reader may be startled at the assertion that their tone of religious sentiment is low; but if carefully examined they will verify this judgment. Martyrdom does indeed have its praise, in lofty verse, for there is too much of the heroic spirit involved here to be unrecognized by a true poet. In general, however, it is the picturesque, the graceful, or the outwardly sublime, that calls forth the highest strains. Canute arresting his barge to listen to "monks in Ely chanting service high," the Crusaders, the fable of Cranmer's heart miraculously preserved from the fire, are beautifully commemorated. But compare the tame "commonplacery" of the sonnet on the translation of the Bible, with the glorious outburst of song on the architecture of Cathedrals, or of King's College Chapel. Go through the whole and select those sonnets that contain the distinct acknowledgment of any Christian truth, going beyond such generalities as *piety, faith*, and the like; their fewness, and their general inferiority, will excite surprise. One exception deserves mention, the "Ejaculation," near the close of the series.

We should not have thought it necessary to dwell at any length on the propriety of a title, the import of which must necessarily vary with the multiform notions of religion that prevail, were it not that "names are things," and that they are abused in our current literature to a degree that demands correction. There is a sort of cant increasingly prevalent, which insists on labelling every thing good, and almost every thing evil, with the name of Christian. Every "earnest," humane, generous poet, who utters aspirations for "progress" and the perfection of "the race," is forthwith ranked with David and Isaiah, with Milton and Cowper. Christianity is debased, her claims are lessened, and her saving influences impaired in their just efficiency by such practices. Nearly akin to this is the humility with which she is made to acknowledge the slightest homage from "great men." We boast that in this country the gospel is left to assert its claims without any aid from the secular State, and that its power over society is the best vindication of its prevailing energy. But to judge by the eager rehearsal of every pious sentiment uttered by a President, a Senator, or a Governor, it would seem that our faith is under weighty obligation to these august personages for extending to it their patronage. The majesty



of divine truth should be spared this homage at the shrine of "brief authority." We are far from confounding Wordsworth with the gauzy sentimentalists whose effusions constitute what may be called the *new* Christianity of the transcendental school, or with the vulgar great, whose *pro forma* confessions of faith sometimes figure in the newspapers. But when we consider what his genius might have done for religion, and compare it with the slight tribute he actually rendered, we cannot read with complacency the excessive eulogies which the religious press has heaped upon him. We cannot comprehend how some half dozen odes and lyrics, and a few sonnets,—few of them productions that any admirer of his verse would offer as specimens of his poetic achievements,—excepted from the immense volume of song that he poured forth during a life of fourscore years, should call for devout thanksgivings from the church universal.

That, in an age when infidelity was rampant, and found its votaries in the muses' bower,—when vice had its laureates, who poured forth a stream of misanthropic ribaldry, the most distant retrospection of which is appalling,—a poet like Wordsworth should have given himself to patient thought, to serene contemplation, to the genial simplicity of nature, and the cherishing of all humane and kindly and noble affections; that he should aspire to find "his haunt and the main region of his song" in "the individual mind that keeps her own inviolate retirement," turning away from the agonies of unholy passion to muse "on man, on nature, and on human life," entitles him to high and enduring honor. That honor we would be the last to question or diminish. It is only when an attempt is made to crown him with laurels that he never earned, or professed to seek, (and he was by no means backward to utter his aspirations in prose or verse,) that we have ventured to interpose an humble remonstrance.

Having thus endeavored to negative the sacred pre-eminence which a fond admiration has sought to confer upon him, it remains to consider the actual merits of Wordsworth as a religious poet, deduced from a view of the moral tendencies of his writings. Two points are here to be settled—the nature of the ends he aimed at, and the means which he deemed appropriate and sufficient to secure them. In the case of many poets such inquiries would seem out of place, but Wordsworth never wrote for amusement. He professed to be a teacher, and if faith is to be placed in his own testimony, he designed that all his compositions should have a substantial unity of impression. In the preface to the *Excursion*, he

compared that work (or rather, the projected poem, of which that was a part) to a Gothic church, and his minor pieces to the lesser adornments and accessories of such a structure. The language in which he speaks of the poet's vocation, as that of a seer, inspired by a "prophetic spirit," and possessing a "divine vision," is too familiar to the reader of his works to need special quotation.

A popular misapprehension, that has been fostered by critics who ought to have been more discerning, represents him as "the poet of Nature," as if he were merely, or chiefly, a descriptive writer. Mr. Macaulay says:—

Wordsworth appeared as the high priest of a worship of which Nature was the idol. No poems have ever indicated so exquisite a perception of the beauty of the outer world, or so passionate a love and reverence for that beauty. \* \* \* He has accustomed himself to gaze on nature with the eye of a lover—to dwell on every feature, and to mark every change of aspect. Those beauties which strike the most negligent observer, and those which only a close attention discovers, are equally familiar to him, and are equally prominent in his poetry.

How one could hazard such a comparison, after reading his "Lines composed near Tintern Abbey," we are unable to conjecture. In that poem, one of the most beautiful and suggestive that ever flowed from his pen, and one that we shall have repeated occasion to quote, we have the acknowledgment that in time past he did cherish the feelings here ascribed to him:—

The sounding cataract  
 Haunted me like a passion: the tall rock,  
 The mountain, and the deep and gloomy wood,  
 Their colors and their forms, were then to me  
 An appetite; a feeling and a love,  
 That had no need of a remoter charm  
 By thought supplied, or any interest  
 Unborrowed from the eye.

But it is also avowed that this season of youthful love had passed away:—

That time is past,  
 And all its aching joys are now no more,  
 And all its dizzy raptures. Not for this  
 Faint I, nor mourn nor murmur; other gifts  
 Have followed, for such loss, I would believe,  
 Abundant recompense. For I have learned  
 To look on nature, not as in the hour  
 Of thoughtless youth; but hearing oftentimes  
 The still, sad music of humanity,  
 Nor harsh, nor grating, though of ample power  
 To chasten and subdue.

In these lines we have the key-note to all the varied har-

monies of his verse. He cherished, and he sought to diffuse, exalted conceptions of the human soul, in its single, spiritual dignity, independently of all conventional and temporal distinctions. This, far more than any mere critical notions, is the reason that (perhaps unconsciously) underlies his theories of poetic diction, and explains his taste—so strange in the eyes of some warm admirers, and so ridiculous to hostile reviewers—for themes drawn from humble life, from aspects of poverty and rustic simplicity. This made him a republican in the outset of the French Revolution; and when he revolted from the unlooked-for issue of those thrilling events, this preserved him from the rancorous spirit of reactionary toryism. But while driven, as he thought, by solemn convictions of duty, to rally for the British Constitution in Church and State, he gave way to no morbid hate of the “swinish multitude,”\* like some of his disappointed contemporaries. He was firmly, even stubbornly, but ever *humanely*, conservative. He was a lover of nature, not for her own sake as a satisfying object, but as the outward manifestation of an infinite, pervading spirit, and instinct with mighty forces. He recognized in her sensible phenomena the puttings forth of a power acting beneficently on every teachable mind, and responding with more than human sympathy to the most sensitive moods of joy and grief. Yet the “main region” of his song, he tells us, was “the mind of man;” the progressive elevation of the individual, and the species, was the burden of his desire, and the aim of his life-long task—a noble and a Christian aim, it must be conceded.

But it is quite possible, in directing the pursuit of this end, to ignore, or deny, or pervert Christianity, and in either case there is a serious blemish. If, in charging such a deformity on Wordsworth’s moral system, as developed in his poetry, we seem to contradict our admission that he recognizes the truth and uses the language of Christianity, it may appear in the sequel that the inconsistency is not ours. Both assertions may be allowed to stand face to face for the present. We are not about to set up any narrow doctrinal tests, and condemn the poet for not conforming to this or that dogma, of this or that church. There are certain propositions which lie on the surface of the matter: That Christianity is a *revelation* of truths, which, whether possible to be inferred from the contemplation of nature and the suggestions of reason, or not, mankind either suffered to be lost, or failed to discover; that

\* Burke.



it is a supernatural system, embodying and propounding spiritual aids, without the action of which the human race have no hope of renovation. If any one denies these truths, and still claims to be called a Christian, we shall take the liberty of dismissing his pretensions without the trouble of arguing them.

Now we maintain, not that Wordsworth any where denies these truths in set phrase,—on the contrary, he declares them, directly or by implication, in repeated instances and in most emphatic language,—but that he too often nullifies them by the use of language inconsistent with a steadfast and vivid belief of them. He asserts the possibility of restoring mankind to the height of primitive purity, by a process purely natural and independent of any superior agency. He does this not once or twice, but persistently, in the preface to the *Excursion* and in the most elaborate passages of that poem. The importance of this point will justify more copious illustration than we have heretofore deemed it needful to attempt. In the lines which he quotes from the *Recluse*, introductory to the *Excursion*, and which he offers as a prospectus of the whole contemplated poem, we find this significant query:—

Paradise, and groves  
Elysian, Fortunate Fields—like those of old  
Sought in the Atlantic main—why should they be  
A history only of departed things,  
Or a mere fiction of what never was?

The coupling of *paradise* with heathen fables is in bad taste, to say the least. But passing this—the question is one of high and solemn import, involving the destiny of the race on earth. We know how it is answered in Scripture. We know how Christian poets, echoing the annunciations of prophecy, and the accordant promises of Him who appeared in the fulness of time as the predicted Restorer, have answered it. Milton sang of Paradise lost,

——— till one greater Man  
Restore us, and regain the blissful seat;

and Cowper's muse inspired him with unwonted power, as he looked for the coming of the new earth, and heard in anticipation that "one song" which shall "employ all nations:"

Worthy the Lamb, for he was slain for us!

But what says Wordsworth?

*For the discerning intellect of man,  
When wedded to this goodly universe  
In love and holy passion, shall find these  
A simple produce of the common day.*

The adjective *holy* may seem to convey an idea of spiritual preparation, as a necessary antecedent of the promised felicity; but the lax and improper use of that word is one of the corruptions of our modern poetical diction. It is so often applied to objects that have no moral quality whatever, as to breed confusion of thought. That we are under no mistake as to his estimate of our capacity for self-restoration, will be seen as we quote further:—

*I, long before the blissful hour arrives,  
Would chant, in lonely peace, the spousal verse  
Of this great consummation;—and by words  
Which speak of nothing more than what we are,  
Would I arouse the sensual from their sleep  
Of death, and win the vacant and the vain  
To noble raptures; while my voice proclaims  
How exquisitely the individual mind  
(And the progressive powers perhaps no less  
Of the whole species) to the external world  
Is fitted; and how exquisitely, too,  
The external world is fitted to the mind;  
And the creation (by no lower name  
Can it be called) which they with blended might  
Accomplish:—THIS IS OUR HIGH ARGUMENT.*

If these passages do not assert the ability of man, individually and as a race, to repair the evils of apostasy by powers inherent in the soul, aided by forces that reside in external nature; if they do not conclusively ignore all necessity for the direct interposition of Divine power and mercy, there is an unwarrantable confusion of language.

The poem is worthy of such a preface. In strains of surpassing beauty and grandeur, the capacities of the soul and the exhaustless sympathies of nature are held up for contemplation, positively declared, persuasively reasoned, skilfully illustrated, and embellished with the finest trophies of imaginative power. There is no shrinking from conclusions, no extenuation of meaning, but all that is implied in the “high argument” of the perfect sufficiency of nature to the human mind, finds emphatic utterance. In the third and fourth books, particularly, the sentiment is expanded and carried to its ultimate consequences, with singular directness. The reader of the *Excursion* will not need to be reminded of the Solitary and his disconsolate history,—bereft of his family,

disappointed in those visions of social perfection which the French Revolution awakened within him, disgusted with both Europe and America, dissatisfied with himself, and without any sustaining faith in the verities of the unseen world. The "gray-haired Wanderer," (the hero of the poem,) in his response to this sorrowful narration, expounds the truths in which his compatriot is to find sufficient consolation. He begins by expressing and commending a devout trust in Divine Providence, a fixed adherence to the law of duty, and faith in the security of future blessedness,

Which reason promises, and Holy Writ  
Insures to all believers.

Acknowledging the force of internal and external temptation to draw the soul downward from this ideal standard, he proceeds:—

What then remains?—To seek  
Those helps, for his occasions ever near,  
Who lacks not will to use them; vows, renewed  
On the first motion of a holy thought;  
Vigils of contemplation; praise and prayer,  
A stream which, from the fountains of the heart  
Issuing, however feebly, nowhere flows  
Without access of unexpected strength.  
But, above all, the victory is most sure  
For him, who, seeking faith by virtue, strives  
To yield entire submission to the law  
Of conscience; conscience revered and obeyed,  
As God's most intimate Presence in the soul,  
And his most perfect Image in the world.  
Endeavor thus to live; these rules regard;  
These helps solicit; and a steadfast seat  
Shall then be yours among the happy few  
Who dwell on earth, yet breathe empyreal air,  
Sons of the morning.

Here we have a religious, though exceedingly vague and indistinct recognition of spiritual agencies:—God, in his providence, the source of all beneficence; his answer of prayer, the sustaining energy of enfeebled nature; and his law, the immutable standard of virtue. The Solitary receives this advice with no visible satisfaction. The Sage, nevertheless, goes on to reprove his misanthropy, and counsels more active intercourse with life and nature, the soothing and elevating influences of which are pictured forcibly and at length. He affirms that superstition, even, is better than the apathy of solitude or the elation of conceited science, and descants on the spiritual benefits of pagan idolatry—in a manner that contrasts rather strongly with St. Paul's allu-



sions to the same topic in his address on the Areopagus and his Epistle to the Romans. After chiding his friend for trusting his understanding to the guidance of one like Voltaire, (a volume of whose works they had observed in his cottage,) he "asserts"—so says the author, in his own analysis of the book—"the power of the soul to regenerate herself," in lines often quoted:—

Within the soul a Faculty abides,  
That with interpositions, which would hide  
And darken, so can deal, that they become  
Contingencies of pomp, and serve to exalt  
Her native brightness. As the ample Moon,  
In the deep stillness of a summer even,  
Rising behind a thick and lofty grove,  
Burns like an unconsuming fire of light,  
In the green trees; and kindling on all sides  
Their leafy umbrage, turns the dusky veil  
Into a substance glorious as her own,  
Yea, with her own incorporated, by power  
Capacious and serene: like power abides  
In Man's celestial spirit; Virtue thus  
Sets forth and magnifies herself; thus feeds  
A calm, a beautiful, and silent fire,  
From the encumbrances of mortal life,  
From error, disappointment,—nay, from guilt;  
And sometimes, so relenting Justice wills,  
From palpable oppressions of Despair.

The Solitary is moved by this description, but not cheered. Reverting to the starting-point of the discussion, he replies despondingly, "in rueful tone, with some impatience in his looks":—

But how begin? or whence? The Mind is free;  
Resolve—the haughty Moralist would say—  
This single act is all that we demand.  
Alas! such wisdom bids a creature fly  
Whose very sorrow is that time hath shorn  
His natural wings! To Friendship let him turn  
For succor; but perhaps he sits alone  
On stormy waters, in a little boat  
That holds but him and can contain no more!  
Religion tells of amity sublime,  
Which no condition can preclude; of One  
Who sees all suffering, comprehends all wants,  
All weakness fathoms, can supply all needs:  
But is that bounty absolute? His gifts,  
Are they not still, in some degree, rewards  
For acts of service? Can His love extend  
To hearts that own not Him? Will showers of grace,  
When in the sky no promise may be seen,  
Fall to refresh a parched and withered land?  
Or shall the groaning spirit cast her load  
At the Redeemer's feet?

Revolve these questions carefully; read again this utterance of a broken spirit, bowed under a sense of moral helplessness: what shall be the response from "the poet of Christianity," the destined "poet of Christendom," whose fame is to blend with "the millennial glory of the church," and who will sit down with Milton and Cowper "on the hill of Zion?" Think what Cowper, himself having writhed in deeper anguish, could say to one in such perplexity. Our thoughts instinctively recur to the pious advice first communicated, and the poet, speaking in his own person, intimates that *his* thoughts, for the moment, took the same direction. But on deliberation, he puts into the Wanderer's mouth a more "apt" reply. The sage begins by affirming that as men's constitutions differ, and as they fall in various ways, "so manifold and various are the ways of restoration,"

——— tending all  
To the same point,—attainable by all;  
*Peace in ourselves and union with our God.*

For his desponding friend, in particular, a hopeful way is indicated by his manifest tenderness of spirit. He is not so far fallen as he supposes:—

Here you stand,  
Adore and worship when you know it not;  
Pious beyond the intention of your thought;  
Devout above the meaning of your will.

He is appealed to, to say if the influences of nature have not deeply impressed his soul at times with emotions of awe; if his "cherished sullenness" has not been forced to bend even in scenes where "her amenities are sown with sparing hand." He is urged to trust himself abroad,

Where living Things, and Things inanimate,  
Do speak, at Heaven's command, to eye and ear,  
And speak to social Reason's inner sense,  
With inarticulate language.

The first effect of such a regimen will be to create a sympathy with his fellow-men:—

For the man  
Who in this spirit communes with the Forms  
Of Nature, who with understanding heart  
Doth know and love such Objects as excite  
No morbid passions, no disquietude,  
No vengeance and no hatred, needs must feel  
The joy of that pure principle of Love  
So deeply, that, unsatisfied with aught  
Less pure and exquisite, he cannot choose  
But seek for objects of a kindred love  
In Fellow-natures and a kindred joy."

this will flow a sense of duty to man, leading to the exercise of true philanthropy:—

And further ; by contemplating these Forms  
In the relations which they bear to Man,  
He shall discern how, through the various means  
Which silently they yield, are multiplied  
The Spiritual Presences of absent Things.  
Trust me, that for the Instructed, time will come  
When they shall meet no object but may teach  
Some acceptable lesson to their minds  
Of human suffering, or of human joy.  
So shall they learn, while all things speak of Man,  
Their duties from all forms ; and general laws  
And local accidents shall tend alike  
To rouse, to urge ; and with the will, confer  
The ability to spread the blessings wide  
Of true philanthropy.

The intellect will then be made to harmonize with the higher faculties :—

The light of love  
Not failing, perseverance from their steps  
Departing not, for them shall be confirmed  
The glorious habit by which Sense is made  
Subservient still to higher purposes,  
Auxiliar to divine. That change shall clothe  
The naked Spirit, ceasing to deplore  
The burden of existence. Science then  
Shall be a welcome visitant ; and then,  
And only then, be worthy of her name.

The grand result will be a complete subjection to the laws, and a full enjoyment of the rewards of moral duty:—

So build we up the Being that we are ;  
Thus deeply drinking-in the Soul of Things,  
We shall be wise perforce ; and while inspired  
By choice, and conscious that the Will is free,  
Unswerving shall we move, as if impelled  
By strict necessity, along the path  
Of order and of good. Whate'er we see,  
Whate'er we feel, by agency direct  
Or indirect, shall tend to feed and nurse  
Our faculties, shall fix in calmer seats  
Of moral strength, and raise to loftier heights  
Of love divine, our intellectual soul.

If we have correctly analyzed this discourse, (and the reader is invited, if our quotations are not sufficiently extended, to compare the whole fourth book of the *Excursion*, in which it is contained,) Wordsworth here assures to every man peace of conscience, union with God, and the entire conformity of his will to the law of moral rectitude, with all the present and eternal felicities of such a state, on the sole



condition of assiduous self-culture, the study of nature, and free intercourse with mankind upon principles of benevolence and philanthropy. The inquirer complains of moral weakness, and is told of unmeasured resources in his own breast; he laments an alienation from God, and is directed to Nature as the all-sufficient mediator. It may be asked how we dispose of the devout language of praise, and the assured aids of prayer commended to the desponding, in the first part of the Wanderer's exhortation? In no other way, we answer, than by the aid of that significant remark, that the modes of restoration are as various as the shades of human character. Under cover of that, it was perfectly consistent to promise the same desired result by a totally different process, one that ignores all Divine interposition, makes every man his own saviour, and virtually represents Christianity as superfluous.\*

Were this conclusion drawn from single fragmentary lines, or fugitive poems dropped from his pen in some unguarded hour of enthusiastic feeling, the fruit of those "dizzy raptures" that charmed his youth, we might be charged with undue austerity of judgment. The poet would have a claim for allowance. But the passages cited form an important portion of a work on which he deliberately staked his fame. They carry out the purpose described in his prefatory lines. They present the detailed exposition of his chosen text, harmonizing throughout with its most obvious meaning. And a comparison with his other writings shows that the sentiment had full possession of his mind. In the lines on Tintern Abbey he says:—

Therefore am I still  
A lover of the meadows, and the woods,  
And mountains; and of all that we behold  
From this green earth; of all the mighty world  
Of eye and ear, both what they half create,  
And what perceive; well pleased to recognize  
In nature, and the language of the sense,  
The anchor of my purest thoughts, the nurse,  
The guide, the guardian of my heart, and soul  
Of all my moral being.

To the like guardianship he commends his sister, as sovereign against all "solitude, or fear, or pain, or grief." His

\* The reader will find in Howitt's *Homes of the Poets* (art. Wordsworth) an extended collation of passages expounding the poet's faith, not the less valuable, perhaps, from the author's vehement admiration of it. There are also some curious facts suggesting the probable source of these ideas. He styles the doctrine of the Excursion "poetic Quakerism," a designation that has a certain degree of appropriateness, though we can hardly believe that the Friends, as a body, will regard Mr. Howitt as an authoritative exponent of their principles.

highest aspiration for the "Cumberland Beggar" is that he may live and die "in the eye of nature." The sign and token of "Peter Bell's" hardened depravity is, that he had travelled far and wide, and resisted all the influences of skies, and stars, and breezes, and flowers.

A primrose by a river's brim  
A yellow primrose was to him,  
And it was nothing more!

Such quotations might be multiplied, but it is unnecessary. A thorough examination of his miscellaneous poems would disclose a very frequent expression, more or less distinct, of this master idea.—We pass to more decisive considerations.

The poem, the title of which is placed at the head of this article, from the connection it has with the *Excursion*, and its bearing on the present inquiry, demands particular notice. It embodies a most authentic commentary upon the great work of which it is a fitting "Prelude." When the author projected the *Recluse*, of which the *Excursion* is a fragment, he deemed it necessary, he informs us, to review his own qualifications for attempting such a work. The result of this process was a resolution to record in verse the origin and development of his powers. "The Prelude" is that record. Beginning with early childhood, he describes the process of his mental growth, the sources of his habitual purposes and feelings, the shaping influences that moulded his affections, and impressed on his soul its most individual characteristics. The discrimination of his views, the beauty of his conceptions, the stately elevation to which his verse not unfrequently rises, though aside from our inquiry, deserve a passing notice. Through the whole course of this retrospect, embracing his boyish sports, school-days, residence at the University and in London, and his foreign travel, he descends to great minuteness of detail. He dwells at length on the aspects of nature that left their impress upon his mind, on the genial influences of society, of books, and of extensive observation. The most trivial objects, "even the loose stones that covered the highway," have their affectionate commemoration, as things that, however passionless in themselves, acting on his susceptible nature, were linked with his moral life, and became the prompters of elevated thought and emotion. *Nowhere does he intimate any important influence of religious truth or of Christian institutions.* If he was the subject of early religious instruction, it seems to have escaped his recollection. The

village church is once or twice mentioned, as a feature of the landscape, in which its taper spire makes a graceful figure ; but as for any other purpose it fulfilled, he seems, like Falstaff, to have "forgotten what the inside of a church is made of." In reviewing his residence at Cambridge, he utters an indignant protest against the compulsory religious services of the University ; and a satirical description of a fashionable metropolitan preacher compels the inference, that while in London he sometimes went to the house of prayer. There is also, in one place, a cold mention of the Bible as superior to other books. Aside from these passages, we have not been able to discover any distinct allusion to the power of revealed religion. "Nature and the language of the sense" are represented as most emphatically the guardians of his moral being. To every form of material, social, and literary influence, even to such questionable gratifications as his youthful games at cards, he recurs with fervent gratitude ; but "the grace of God that bringeth salvation" has not even a passing tribute.

A comparison between this autobiography and the discourse we have so largely quoted, in the fourth book of the *Excursion*, is instructive. The discourse commends a confiding subjection to the inspirations of nature ; the autobiography rejoices in the experience of such subjection. The discourse predicts as a primary result the elevation of moral purpose to the love of mankind ; the poet affirms that he himself was indebted for that result to the same efficient cause. The one gives assurance of a harmonious development of all the faculties of the soul through these genial agencies ; the other affirms a consciousness of having largely enjoyed that inestimable benefit. In both, with a vague acknowledgment of superior powers, there is an almost studious negation of the direct spiritual blessings of Christianity.

We have seen that in the intensity of his love for nature and of his reverence for humanity, the poet was led to exalt both to a degree that is at war with the spirit of the gospel. It is not strange, therefore, that he should have been occasionally betrayed into the use of language suggestive of a more pernicious idolatry of the universe, nearly allied to pantheism. We do not mean to charge that he deliberately and consciously entertained pantheistic opinions, but there can be no doubt that he cherished trains of thought tending toward that subtle philosophy, and gave utterance to his musings in terms that fall but little short of its Godless con-



clusions. In the poem we have before cited—*Tintern Abbey*\*—there is a passage of this kind:—

I have felt  
A PRESENCE that disturbs me with the joy  
Of elevated thoughts; a sense sublime  
Of SOMETHING far more deeply interfused,  
Whose dwelling is the light of setting suns,  
And the round ocean, and the living air,  
And the blue sky, and in the mind of man:  
A MOTION and a SPIRIT that impels  
All thinking things, all objects of all thought,  
And rolls through all things.

Now this vague, impersonal, anonymous conception of a *something*,—a spirit, a motion, a presence,—diffused through all things and moving all existences, whether they be spiritual or material, *may* have been intended to describe the omniscient Deity, who is the object of Christian adoration, but the whole description has a decided smack of the pantheistic. It suggests that notion of a “soul of the world,” of whose spontaneous activity the universe is the outward sign and sensible image, that an atheistic philosophy has set up to supplant the worship of the all-holy Jehovah. The same idea is suggested by the oft-quoted invocation:—

Wisdom and Spirit of the Universe!  
Thou Soul, that art the Eternity of thought,  
And givest to forms and images a breath  
And everlasting motion!

But these passages are mild compared with one or two others. They spring from his veneration of the outward

\* The characteristics of this poem, in both views in which we have considered it, are noticed by Dr. Wordsworth, (*Memoir*, page 119,) whose apology deserves to be quoted. “If the reflecting reader should be disposed to think that too much reliance is there expressed on the powers of man’s will, leaning on the aid of Nature alone, and independent of those supernatural means which are provided by a gracious Providence for the purification of the corruptions, and for a support to the infirmities, of humanity; \* \* \* if also, as is not improbable, he should be of opinion that a ‘worshipper of Nature’ is in danger of divinizing the creation and of dishonoring the Creator, and that therefore some portions of this poem might be perverted to serve the purposes of a popular and pantheistic philosophy, he will remember that the author of the *Lines on Tintern Abbey* composed also the *Evening Voluntaries*, and that he who professes himself an ardent votary of Nature has explained the sense in which he wishes these words to be understood, by saying, that

‘By grace divine,  
Not otherwise, O Nature! we are thine.’”

But no “reflecting reader,” we apprehend, will consider a gloss of a dozen lines a sufficient antidote to sentiments elaborately interwoven with the texture of so many poems, especially of one which the author composed after years of deliberate meditation, as his most important legacy to posterity.

universe, but in his soaring conceptions of the soul, he ventures on a more daring style of expression, such as (unless taken with an extenuation of meaning that no author has a right to expect) shocks our sense of the reverence due to the Creator. In the *Excursion* (book fourth) there is an address to the Deity, containing these lines :—

Thou, Thou alone  
Art everlasting, and the blessed spirits  
Which thou includest, as the sea her waves.

And in lines on hearing of the expected death of Mr. Fox, he says :—

That Man, who is from God sent forth,  
Doth yet again to God return !  
*Such ebb and flow must ever be ;*  
Then wherefore do we mourn ?

To comprehend the full import of such expressions as these, compare the following extract from Mr. Morell's discussion of Cousin's philosophical system, in which he is showing its pantheistic tendencies :—

Even if we admit that his is not a doctrine like that of Spinoza, which identifies God with the abstract idea of substance; or even like that of Hegel, which regards Deity as synonymous with the absolute law and progress of the universe; if we admit, in fact, that the Deity of Cousin possesses a conscious personality, yet still it is one which *contains within itself the infinite personality and consciousness of every subordinate mind. God is the ocean; we are but the waves.* The ocean may be one individuality and each wave another; but still they are essentially one and the same.

In view of such wide departures from the fundamental ideas of Christianity, his minor deviations may be briefly alluded to. Such are his representations of infancy, as a state of holy and perfect communion with God,—representations which he certainly did not derive from the Scriptures, from the standard writers of universal Christendom, or from the articles and formularies of the Church of England. In the *Excursion* we find the Wanderer consoling the Solitary under his domestic bereavements, in this style :—

I cannot doubt that they whom you deplore  
Are glorified; or, if they sleep, shall wake  
From sleep, and dwell with God in endless love.  
Hope, below this, consists not with belief  
In mercy, carried infinite degrees  
Beyond the tenderness of human hearts :  
Hope, below this, consists not with belief  
In perfect Wisdom, guiding mightiest Power,  
That finds no limit but her own pure Will.

Since the moral deficiencies of men cannot detract from the Divine perfections, we do not see why the same might not be

said of the eternal prospects of every human being. But as we have disclaimed, in the outset, any purpose of insisting on what may be deemed narrow doctrinal tests, it is not material that we should pursue our inquiry into the minuter shades of error which may be detected in his verse. Enough has been said, we apprehend, to show that in some points of prime importance, Wordsworth deviates from the Christian standard of thought, and that those who have undertaken his canonization, as one of the great bards of the Christian church, have suffered their admiration of his poetical excellence to obscure their moral discrimination.

It may seem like an affectation of candor, after all this, to express a belief that the poet was thoroughly sincere in his profession of Christianity, and that he never wrote a line with the conscious intention of lessening her claims or questioning her truths. But such are the anomalies of human nature. It is indisputable that he gave utterance to some of the central doctrines of our holy religion with a frank simplicity that cannot be easily misinterpreted. These contradictions are significant of peculiarities in his character and early culture, which are not obscurely disclosed in his works. He was a member and admirer of the Church of England, whose history, whose venerable temples, and whose solemn ritual he has feelingly commemorated, and for whose perpetuity he uttered fervent aspirations. Yet, judging from the tenor of his writings, especially of his poetical autobiography, it would seem that his early religious education was superficial. The recollections of his childhood, so copious and so beautiful, are silent on this theme. There is nothing to indicate that in his youth he was trained to the investigation of those high questions which the Bible presents to task the intellect and fill the heart. He was subjected to the discipline of the Church from infancy, and feeling no temptation to stray from her venerated inclosure, he was under no compulsion to examine strictly the grounds of his profession. Thus he received her doctrines passively rather than by active personal acquisition, with an habitual and unquestioning assent, rather than with earnest conviction or ardent faith. Her formularies and rites stirred his sensibilities, not more by their intrinsic force than by the tender associations connected with them. In maturer life the love of country mingled with these feelings. He loved the Church, because it was the Church of *England*, the Church of his fathers, linked indissolubly with the memory of past ages. It was not strange that he sought to embalm her memory in enduring verse. Loyalty and patriotism, in fact, had as much



to do with the inspiration of *some* of his religious poems as any higher considerations. The series of Ecclesiastical Sketches, as he tells us, was planned in view of the pendency of the "Catholic question," that great bone of political contention, that made and unmade cabinets, agitated Parliaments, and convulsed the nation for thirty years. The Thanksgiving Ode (which one critic commends as excellent Sabbath morning poetry) is a thanksgiving for the victory at Waterloo. Occasionally, as he contemplated themes that appealed to his religious sensibilities, they called forth sentiments of a more directly pious and Scriptural character. Thus, though possessing religious impulses sufficient to tinge his poetry, they were not strong enough to control it. They appear in fitful bursts of song, but their force is not constant, and his mind strays through by-paths of meditation that lead him to trespass not seldom upon forbidden ground.

It is not to be inferred from these observations, that we regard Wordsworth's religion as a barren sentiment, possessed of no moral efficiency to mould his character and life. The high moral tone he uniformly maintains; the stainless purity of his thoughts, fitly typified by the austere simplicity of his diction; his conceptions of human virtue, lifting themselves sublimely above the atmosphere of worldly life like the summits of his loved mountains, bear witness to his personal worth, and give lasting beauty and fragrance to his well-won chaplet. His piety is not to be pronounced hollow and unreal because his works show that it failed to "bring *every* thought into captivity," obvious and durable as were its actual conquests. Some of the blemishes we have noted have their origin in mental rather than moral obliquity. If, indeed, Wordsworth were what he has been denominated, and what he may have aspired to be, a philosopher, a contrary conclusion might be drawn. Such a claim will hardly bear examination. His habits were meditative, but not reflective. He lacked the comprehension and the steady balance of thought, that are essential traits of the philosophic mind. He contemned the process of logic, and such contempt always has its appropriate retribution. His sensibility and imagination domineered over his rational faculties, a dominion that increased his poetical, but detracted from his purely intellectual power. "The joy of elevated thoughts," he well says, "disturbed" him. It intoxicated his mind, and the rapture forced him to exceed the limits of his calmer convictions. His secluded life, to the influence of which he attributed so much value, tended to nourish these traits of character. It

was as if the mountains that bounded his ordinary vision imposed a like restraint upon his mind, and impelled his thoughts, if they would transcend the common horizon, to pass upward into the immensity of space, where they found no limit but "their own sweet will." Something is due, also, to the antagonistic attitude he assumed. Perceiving that poetry had been enervated and corrupted by neglecting nature for the trivial conventionalities or the baser passions of artificial life, he sought to restore her wasted powers. He mused long and lovingly on the beauty and grandeur of the outward world, and the force of human affections in their most elementary forms of manifestation; and he sought to kindle the same spirit in others. It is not strange that his ardor should have transported him beyond the bounds of exact truth. His primary conceptions were just, but they became distorted by a very natural exaggeration of feeling.

We have intimated a high admiration for the moral tone of Wordsworth's works,—an admiration that suffers no abatement from a sense of their religious defects. The service he rendered to literature in this respect can hardly be overrated. With no prudery or morbid delicacy, with a manliness and healthful energy of spirit that breathe through all his productions, he passes before us like Milton, as described in his own matchless language, with

— keen eye, courageous look,  
And conscious step of purity and pride.

If the fervor of his human love seduced him at times into an undue exaltation of man's unaided powers, he never sought to deify lust, or apologize for the excesses of untamed passion. Nothing malevolent or scornful, nothing base or selfish, nothing sensual or corrupt, taints a single production of his pen. Nor are his merits exclusively negative. He loves to dwell on the aspects of human goodness, to paint scenes of domestic tenderness and peace, to clothe virtue with a lustre from which vice shrinks abashed. Human nature is glorified in his view by its relations to the divine; the present life is illuminated by gleams from the endless future. And although we cannot doubt that the eternal Spirit will yet inspire bards of greater might, whose powers shall be more entirely devoted "to celebrate in glorious and lofty hymns the throne and equipage of God's almightiness, and what he works and what he suffers to be wrought with high providence in his church," the effulgence of their genius will never, we may believe, utterly hide the "starlike virtue" of Wordsworth's song.

## ART. VII.—ROBINSON'S GREEK AND ENGLISH LEXICON.

BY HENRY J. RIPLEY,

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*A Greek and English Lexicon of the New Testament.* By EDWARD ROBINSON, D.D., LL.D., Professor of Biblical Literature in the Union Theological Seminary, New-York. A new edition, revised and in great part rewritten. New-York: Harper & Brothers. 1850.

The reputation of Dr. Robinson in Biblical Literature is so well established, that the present edition of his Lexicon of the New Testament will of course be received with favor. It has unquestionable claims to favor. It is a good specimen of such a Lexicon, in its minuteness as to the signification of words and phrases and its condensed information in Biblical geography, history and exegesis. To a considerable extent, it answers the purpose of a concordance, and puts a student in possession of materials for making his own commentary.

In using a lexicon of the New Testament, it is important to remember that in such a work, as in a commentary, an author's theological views will appear, and will influence his representations of the meaning of words; though, justly speaking, theological views ought to be moulded by the philology of the lexicon. We are entitled to expect in a lexicon impartiality, or freedom from all extraneous bias in fixing the definitions of words; for a lexicon professes faithfully to collect and record facts as to the meaning of words and phrases, and should, therefore, have the justice and coolness of history. Literary justice would be disregarded should an author attempt, when philology requires of him an account of a word unaccordant with his predilections, to neutralize the proper influence of the account he gives.

The decisions of a lexicon, it should also be remembered, are by no means final; they are only the conclusions which its author has formed from the resources within his reach; and those resources may have been, in the case of any word, copious or meagre, and may have been judiciously employed or otherwise. There always lies an appeal from the lexicon to the authors in the original language, or to the original passages in which a word occurs. A student should form the habit of going back, as far as his means allow, to original sources, thus making himself independent even of lexicons. As lexicons present the conclusions of their authors, it is desirable also to have several, so that the deficiencies of one may be supplied by the fulness of another, and the errors of one, occasioned by the numerous untoward influences felt in the domain of theological literature, may be rectified by the more impartial conclusions of another.

We have been led into this train of thought, probably, by the manner in which the author treats the word βαπτίζω. After presenting a just view of its use among classic Greek writers, he proceeds to its use in the New Testament, and states as the first meaning, *to wash, to lave, to cleanse by washing*. As an authority for, or illustration of, this indefinite signification, he produces Luke xi. 38, in which βαπτίσθη occurs; and compares it with Mark vii. 2, 3, where νίψανται occurs, the circumstances in the two cases being represented by Dr. Robinson as alike. Mark vii.



4, in which βαπτίζονται occurs, is also referred to. The author's judgment, apparently, is that the words in these instances are used alike, and that νίπτω, *wash*, serves to explain βαπτίζω, *baptize*.

This judgment is certainly incorrect. A careful examination of the verses cited from Mark shows that two quite diverse cases are there spoken of, one requiring a comparatively slight washing, (νίψανται,) and the other a copious ablution (βαπτίζονται). With this latter case corresponds the one mentioned in Luke xi. 38 (ἐβαπτίσθη). The very candid view taken of Mark vii. 2-4, by Dr. G. Campbell, in the Notes to his translation of the Four Gospels, is worthy of careful consideration. He translates the passage in the following manner: "For the Pharisees . . . eat not until they have washed their hands by pouring a little water upon them; and if they be come from the market, by dipping them." In his note, he says: "For illustrating this passage, let it be observed, that the two verbs, rendered *wash* in the English translation, are different in the original. The first is νίψανται, properly translated *wash*; the second is βαπτίζονται, which limits us to a particular mode of washing; for βαπτίζω denotes *to plunge, to dip*. . . . By this interpretation, the words which, as rendered in the common version, are unmeaning, appear both significant and emphatical; and the contrast in the Greek is preserved in the translation."

More modern writers, of the first ability, also differ from the author of this Lexicon. Olshausen, on Mark vii. 2, 3, after saying that the evangelist felt it necessary to explain to readers who were not Jews the Jewish custom of washing the hands before meals, thus proceeds: "Mark passes on from the custom of washing hands to similar customs; for washings of every sort were customary among the Jews; he ends, however, with the washing relative to provisions. Βαπτίζεσθαι differs from νίπτεσθαι. The former is here the immersing and cleaning off of provisions that had been purchased, in order to remove every possible impurity which might have been on them. Νίπτεσθαι embraces also a rubbing off, since such an act occurs in every form of washing."

C. F. A. Fritzsche, in his Commentary on Mark, after a very copious discussion of the passage, presents the following views: "Verse 4. And when they have come from the market, that is, from business in the market, they do not eat unless they have washed their body. Thus Beza and Grotius explain this passage. Most rightly." In alluding to a possible charge of tautology in this interpretation, he remarks: "So far from there being tautology in this method, the writer advances to a still stronger case. The Pharisees, says Mark, according to traditional precepts, do not eat bread unless after having carefully washed their hands. And when they have come from the market, they do even more; namely, they do not take food *unless they have washed their body*. The Pharisees judged it necessary to wash their bodies on returning from the market, because there was ground for fear lest in a public concourse they should, even through imprudence, have contracted some serious defilement, as they might have either ignorantly fallen in with an unclean man, or incautiously touched some very impure thing." In reference to Kuinoel's remark that antiquity bears no testimony to the practice among the Pharisees of washing their persons before meals, after returning from the market, he says, "The testimony of antiquity which Kuinoel required is in the New Testament itself, in Luke xi. 37, 38."

De Wette, after assenting to the insertion, for explaining the evangelist's idea, of the clause *when they have returned* before the clause *from the market*, adds: "This explanation receives a better sense when with

Beza, Grotius, Fritzsche, we understand βαπτίζεσθαι of the whole body, than with Lightfoot and Wetstein merely of the hands."

H. A. W. Meyer, in his Manual on the Gospels of Mark and Luke, has the following note: "Ἐὰν μὴ βαπτίσωνται is not to be understood of the *washing of the hands*, (Lightfoot, Wetstein,) but of the *immersing* which the word always means in the classics and the New Testament; that is, here, according to the context, *the taking of a bath*. So likewise Luke xi. 38. Having come from the market, where, among a crowd of men, they might have come in contact with unclean persons, they eat not without having first bathed themselves. The representation proceeds in a climactic manner: before eating they *always* observe the washing of hands, but [employ] the *bath* when they come from the market, and wish to take food."

It is no part of my object here to determine whether βαπτίσωνται relates to the persons spoken of, or, as Olshausen and others suppose, to provisions which had been purchased in the market; nor even, whether it relates to the entire body, or only to the hands. This is wholly unnecessary so far as the meaning of the word is concerned; since, in either case, the difference between this word and νίπτεσθαι is perfectly obvious. My purpose has been to show that Dr. Robinson's judgment in regard to Mark vii. 2, 3, as employing νίπτω and βαπτίζω in the same sense, opposes leading authorities of the present age. So far as βαπτίζω is concerned, his Lexicon cannot be regarded as a "memorial of the progress and condition of the interpretation and lexicography of the New Testament, at the close of the first half of the nineteenth century."

Dr. Robinson produces in this connection the two Hebrew words טָבַל and רָחַץ, apparently, as illustrating the resemblance between βαπτίζω and νίπτω. The comparison fails, however; for the relation between the two Hebrew words, as is evident from the very passages he quotes, 2 Kings v. 14, compared with 10, is not the same as between βαπτίζω and νίπτω, but the same as between βαπτίζω and λούω; the two words, both in Hebrew and Greek, being so related that when the prophet Elisha directed Naaman to go and *wash* (רָחַץ, λούω, properly *bathe*) in the Jordan, Naaman went and *dipped* (טָבַל, βαπτίζω) himself. Now while λούω and βαπτίζω are thus kindred in idea, λούω and νίπτω are distinct from each other; as appears from the Gospel of John, xiii. 10. In this passage it is said that a person who has been *bathed*, λελουμένος, needs after that copious use of water only to *wash* (νίψασθαι) his feet. The distinction between νίπτω and λούω is here obvious. Equally obvious is the distinction between νίπτω and βαπτίζω. The cases in John xiii. 10 and Mark vii. 2, 3, are remarkably similar as to the relation of these several verbs; and amply show how uncritical it is to regard βαπτίζω and νίπτω as interchangeable and as indiscriminately employed.

Two passages are also produced from the Apocrypha as confirming the statement that βαπτίζω bears the general signification of *washing*. In these passages, however, the cases referred to are such that a very *copious* use of water is intended to be expressed, and not *washing* merely, without necessary reference to the idea of copiousness.

Appended to the article we have been considering is a note, designed to support the opinion that "in Hellenistic usage, and especially in reference to the rite of baptism, βαπτίζω would seem to have expressed not always simply *immersion*, but the more general idea of *ablution* or *affusion*." It ingeniously acknowledges that "in Greek writers, from Plato onwards, βαπτίζω is every where to *sink*, to *immerse*, to *overwhelm*, either wholly or partially." The opinion above stated the author, however, labors to confirm by the following considerations: 1. "The circumstances

narrated in Luke xi. 37, 38, compared with those in Mark vii. 2-4." These passages have been already sufficiently examined. A word or two more may seem requisite in regard to βαπτισμοῦς in the 4th verse of the passage in Mark, as applied to cups, pots, brazen vessels, and tables. No valid objection against the specific meaning of the word can arise from its use in this connection, since all these articles, even the more bulky ones, were capable of immersion, part by part, if not the whole at once; and the more bulky articles were expressly required by later Jewish regulations to be actually covered with water in order to be cleansed. In regard to the smaller articles, we find in Lev. xi. 32, the direction that any vessel on which the dead body of an unclean animal had fallen—and Jewish scrupulosity would, doubtless, in subsequent times, extend the rule to all cases of defilement, real or presumed—"whatsoever vessel it be wherein any work is done," (except only earthen vessels, which, when polluted, were to be broken in pieces, Lev. xi. 33,) "it must be *put into water*," in order to be cleansed. Meyer, also, whom we have already quoted, says of βαπτισμοῦς in this verse: "It is to be understood of the cleaning off by *dipping in*."

2. Another consideration adduced to sustain the indefinite signification of the word in question is, that "in Acts ii. 41, three thousand persons are said to have been baptized at Jerusalem apparently in one day, at the season of Pentecost in June; and in Acts iv. 4, the same rite is necessarily implied in respect to five thousand more. Against the idea of full immersion in these cases there lies a difficulty, apparently insuperable, in the scarcity of water. There is in summer no running stream in the vicinity of Jerusalem, except the mere rill of Siloam, a few rods in length; and the city is and was supplied with water from its cisterns and public reservoirs. From neither of these sources could a supply have been well obtained for the immersion of eight thousand persons."

We will repress levity, and in seriousness ask, If three thousand persons were baptized on one day, and five thousand were subsequently baptized, whether on one day or at several different times, how does this furnish a ground for objecting that there was not water enough for immersing eight thousand persons? So far as the number is concerned, the entire statement of the sacred record is met by the opinion, generally received, that in Acts iv. 4 not a fresh addition of five thousand persons to the Christian company is meant, but that the company had increased to five thousand; and this increase was not, so far as appears, simultaneous, but gradual. Then, as to the water itself, without starting the inquiry which the author's statement certainly suggests, How much water is consumed in baptizing a person? or, How many persons will any considerable mass of water allow to be baptized without being exhausted, or rendered unsuitable for the purpose?—without starting these inquiries, but limiting our view to the sufficiency of water in the city, we may, in the absence of precise testimony from ancient times, well believe that so populous a city as Jerusalem was not destitute of adequate supplies of water for the purpose, but that, as the ancient geographer Strabo testifies, it was "well watered;" especially as, by the prescriptions of their religion, all the adult males of the nation were required to repair to Jerusalem three times every year; and one of those times was the very festival which was occurring when the three thousand embraced the Christian religion. The burden of proof that Jerusalem was destitute of sufficient water and conveniences, in face of the acknowledged meaning of the word as commonly used, and in face of divinely appointed customs which required large quantities of water both for religious purposes and for personal cleanliness, lies on those who raise the suspicion that Jerusalem was not



able to furnish an adequate supply of water. This proof has never been given; and the subject is far enough from such a state as would authorize a departure, in sense, from the ordinary meaning of a word which a sacred writer has employed. Should researches continue to be made, we have a right to presume that, as has happened on other subjects and on other questions pertaining to baptism, the increasing light of science will confirm the plain, unsophisticated declarations of the Holy Scriptures.

Desirable as it is to oppose facts to doubts, we must sometimes be content to oppose probabilities to improbabilities, and wait for additional light. That additional light in regard to the present subject may never be attained, because the question relates to the ancient city which has been so sadly devastated and has undergone so many changes. And yet so far as explorations have been made which might create, or warrant, a general impression on the subject, a perusal of Dr. Robinson's *Researches in Palestine*, (Vol. I. Section VIII. Art. IX., on the Supply of Water in Jerusalem,) and of the additions to the *Researches* grounded on communications from Messrs. Smith and Walcott, can hardly fail to produce conviction that a city, so wonderful for the labor and skill expended in securing immense quantities of water, for both public and private use, could not have been destitute of places in which immersion could have been administered to an indefinite number of persons. When we read of remains of ancient reservoirs, in length 216 feet, in breadth from 200 to 218 feet, and 18 feet in depth; also, in length 592 feet, in breadth from 245 to 275 feet, and in depth from 35 to 42 feet; and when various notices of aqueducts and other means of supply pass before our minds, showing great ampleness of accommodations for water, and a most remarkable attention to the safety and comfort of the city in every vicissitude of circumstances; it does seem utterly unreasonable to cast suspicion on the meaning of the word *baptize* by the suggestion that the city could not supply a sufficient quantity of water for immersing so many as the inspired account may warrant us in saying were baptized. A more particular reference to the interesting facts presented in the works above named is unnecessary. Future years may bring to light other and still more definite facts; for the researches thus far made give stimulating promise of yet more wonderful disclosures to reward the enterprise of explorers, and to confirm the sacred records. In the mean time, the general impression from researches hitherto prosecuted is by no means adverse to the belief that the baptism in Jerusalem on the occasions referred to was, in accordance with the meaning of the word, a veritable immersion.

3. Another consideration produced by Dr. Robinson as adverse to the idea of immersion being involved in baptism is, that "in the earliest Latin versions of the New Testament, as for example the *Itala*, which Augustine regarded as the best of all, and which goes back apparently to the second century and to usage connected with the apostolic age, the Greek verb βαπτίζω is uniformly given in the Latin from *baptizo*, and is never translated by *immergo* or any like word; showing that there was something in the rite of baptism to which the latter did not correspond."

Without entering into the doubtful, and, for the present purpose, unnecessary inquiry, how far any existing Latin renderings belong to the genuine *Itala*, a satisfactory account can be given of the transfer of the Greek βαπτίζω into the early Latin versions in preference to a real translation of that word. There is no necessity for supposing such a flexibility or comprehensiveness of meaning in the Greek word as would not allow any existing Latin word to be its representative. The supposition has been made that the earliest Latin versions, unless we may ex-

cept the Itala, had their origin in Africa, where the Latin was generally used, but was not spoken, or written, in purity; and where, of course, a word not of the genuine language, yet well understood, would without repugnance be adopted. Whatever may be in this, the expressing of the Greek word in a Latin form proves only, that at the very early period when Latin versions commenced, the word βαπτίζω had come to be so associated with the sacred observance, and had become so familiar among the people for whom the versions were made, that it was naturally transferred instead of being translated. It is by no means surprising, then, that even among those Christians in the Roman empire who used mostly the Latin language, a classical or a colloquial Latin word was not employed in Latin translations instead of that to which, in sacred matters, they had become accustomed, and which was by usage as well understood as the corresponding genuine Latin word.

4. The remaining consideration presented in the note, is drawn from "the baptismal fonts still found among the ruins of the most ancient Greek churches in Palestine, as at Tekoa and Gophna, and going back apparently to very early times," which "are not large enough to admit of the baptism of adult persons by immersion, and were obviously never intended for that use."

How ancient were these fonts? A question of essential importance to the purpose for which the Lexicon mentions them; namely, showing how a certain word was understood in the apostolic age. That they belong "to very early times" is not sufficient; for at the early times to which they may belong, erroneous practices may have become prevalent, requiring them for a purpose other than that of the baptism of adult persons. They "were obviously never intended for the baptism of adult persons by immersion." For what use were they intended? Will any one inform us, and thus enable us to conjecture whether they oppose the idea of immersion as belonging to baptism? If any one says, they were designed not for the immersion of adults, but for some other mode of using water at the baptism of adults, let him prove this; else he begs the question. But if they were designed, according to the practice of Greek churches elsewhere, for the baptism of infants, then they do not oppose the ordinary meaning of the word: they rather favor it, for why was a font "four feet in diameter on the inside and three feet nine inches deep,"\* employed for the baptism of infants, unless the baptism was an immersion? If then they cannot be fairly traced back—and who will pretend that they can be?—to that period in the Christian history when conveniences for the baptism of infants were not needed, infant-baptism not having yet, according to all early history, been introduced, their antiquity is not of the least avail against the idea of immersion being contained in βαπτίζω. It is not sufficiently remote.

Having examined, as was meet, the several grounds on which the acknowledged classical signification of this word is withholden from it when used in reference to the rite of baptism, we may be allowed to say that any word which is descriptive of an act might easily become shrouded in darkness if the same license were practised in regard to it as has fallen to the lot of this much abused word. And as an offset to the irrelevant considerations which are so often produced to disprove its retaining in the New Testament its confessedly classical signification, we beg to ask, how can it be fairly accounted for that in the earliest Christian writers after the apostolic era, whenever the mention of the rite of baptism is associated with descriptive circumstances, or when descriptive terms are

\* Robinson, *Biblical Researches in Palestine*, Vol. I. p. 78; Vol. II. p. 123.

employed instead of the words *baptize* and *baptism*, the descriptive terms and circumstances invariably point to immersion as the act of baptism?

Under the word ὕδωρ, *water*, the phrase, ὕδατα πολλὰ, *many waters*, *much water*, is in this work quite summarily dispatched. It is here defined *many fountains*; and this meaning is ascribed to the expression in John iii. 23. In support of this definition, two references are made to classic Greek authors. This phrase, however, as occurring in the New Testament, is not to be illustrated by classic usage, since it is a *Hebraistic phrase*, and must be examined as such. Now it is remarkable that while this phrase is of frequent occurrence in the Apocalypse and in the Old Testament, both the Septuagint version and the original Hebrew, and thus the means of elucidation are sufficiently ample to produce satisfaction, Dr. Robinson has produced but a single Biblical passage, Ex. vii. 15, Sept., as illustrating it, and, unhappily for his definition, the relation of that passage to the phrase does not appear. Perhaps it is an error of the press. But whether a misprint or not, whoever, in order to explain John iii. 23, will examine the passages in the New Testament in which this Hebraistic phrase occurs, Rev. i. 15; xiv. 2; xvii. 1; xix. 6; and will then examine the places of its occurrence in the Septuagint, and of the corresponding Hebrew phrase in the Hebrew Bible, 2 Sam. xxii. 17; Ps. xviii. 16; xxix. 3; xxxii. 6; lxxvii. 19; xciii. 4; cvii. 23; cxliv. 7; and will also observe the usage of the Septuagint, in which *much water* and *many waters* are equivalent expressions, cannot admit the meaning ascribed to it in this Lexicon, but will feel compelled to translate it, in accordance with our version, *much water* and *many waters*.

The precise idea of a word is sometimes overlooked by Dr. Robinson, while he presents the essential meaning, though in a form diverse from that which the original writer employed, thus being logically correct, but not philologically, and therefore not giving a satisfactory account of the word. In the article on βαρύνω, for instance, he quotes a passage from Josephus, in which that writer says of certain robbers who had broken into Jerusalem, that "they baptized the city;" that is, says Dr. Robinson, "filled it with confusion and distress." This is substantially a true exhibition of the thought which Josephus conveyed, but the word *filled* is too remote from the original word to represent it. The more kindred phraseology, "they *plunged* the city into confusion," or, "they *inundated*," or, "*overwhelmed*" it with confusion, would present the original cast of the thought and preserve verbal accuracy.

So under the word αἷμα, *blood*, he gives the following explanation of our Lord's idea in John vi. 53-58, where, he says, "the phrase *to eat the flesh and drink the blood of Christ*, signifies 'to receive Christ wholly into oneself, so that he may become wholly united and incorporated with us, as food with the body, and we thus become partakers of that life which is in him;' comp. Gal. iv. 19; Col. i. 27; iii. 10." Our Lord's idea in this connection was not, we think, so definite and intensive. He rather meant to be understood as saying in general, that, as your bodily life is sustained by what you eat and drink, so by me only can you have spiritual life, or, from me must be derived spiritual aliment. But however this may be, the several passages adduced do not illustrate the *language* of our Lord; they present the same idea under as many different aspects. And while they help to a logical conception of the passage, they may, as thus presented, really hinder a student's exact discrimination between the different shades of thought. We interpret a passage inaccurately, when, instead of seizing on the precise idea, or the form of thought, we express its meaning in terms equally adapted to several other different passages,



and in all probability equally unadapted to the precise shade of thought in either of those passages.

Passing over some other unsatisfactory matter, and some deficiencies, it is gratifying to see so copious space given to the explanation of particles. These are small words, but incalculably important in their influence on the words to which they stand related. It is delightful, too, to meet here with so many instances in which a good Lexicon sheds a flood of light on a passage by explaining some one word, or by inserting an explanatory word or clause.

The Preface to the work is richly instructive and satisfactory.

It is a matter of regret to have had occasion to say so much on the meaning of βαπτίζω. The honest conclusions of philology ought, at length, to be acquiesced in, and not to be unsettled by suspicions and surmises more shadowy than real. In the spirit of genuine and ingenuous scholarship let the meaning of the word be acknowledged. Notwithstanding such acknowledgment, room may still be found for inquiry, whether the genius of Christianity does not permit its rites to be materially modified according to circumstances? or, whether there may not be such a thing as an imperfect baptism? Such inquiries would be more appropriate to the state of philological learning at the middle of the nineteenth century, than questionings about the meaning of the word.

This is to be regretted, again, because it is liable to be abused as fostering the unfounded prejudice that the chief difference between Baptists and others relates to a mere mode of baptism. So far from this being true, the question about the meaning of the word has not a hundredth part of the importance which belongs to the question, To whom is baptism to be administered? If all were agreed, both in sentiment and practice, as to the meaning of the word, this latter and chief inquiry would still be open. And this inquiry, however decided, has connections and results too grave for indifference. Strange as it may appear to some, this question involves the inquiry whether the Word of God is our sole and sufficient directory in matters of religious obligation, or whether tradition should also be appealed to. For who, with the Bible alone before him, would ever think of *infant* baptism? It involves, too, the inquiry whether the Jewish element of children's being in covenant with God by virtue of their parentage belongs to the Christian church; and whether a worldly element uniting unregenerate persons in church relations, to whatever extent, with genuine disciples, belongs to the Christian church; and again, whether an ordinance most evidently instituted by Christ and sacredly observed by the apostles, that is, the baptism of believers on profession of their faith in him, is to be displaced and eventually—for such is the tendency of infant baptism—annulled? Such are the inquiries which are involved; and they certainly demand wakeful jealousy for the honor of Christ, the church's head, as well as the meekness of wisdom. The question as to the proper subjects of baptism is not appropriate to the design of the present paper. When a favorable occasion arises for examining that question, it can not only be shown that the Word of God authorizes only the baptism of believers, but also, that the earliest period of church history, that which alone can pretend to be valuable in such an examination, embracing the apostolical fathers and succeeding writers down to Tertullian, about the year 200, is as barren of evidence for infant baptism, and is as directly in favor of believers' baptism, as is the New Testament itself.

## ART. VIII.—NOTICES OF NEW PUBLICATIONS.

*The Illustrated Domestic Bible.* By the Rev. INGRAM COBBIN, M.A.  
New York: Samuel Hueston, 139 Nassau street.

It is with pleasure that we call attention to this edition of the Sacred Scriptures. It is a quarto of convenient size; the plates from which it is printed were cast in England upon the clearest type; the paper is of good quality, and the binding for substantialness and elegance is an honor to the art. But the treasures of the book lie within. It contains, in addition to the text of the common version, with the usual marginal readings, a very large number of parallel references, which there is every reason to believe are made with judgment and care. If its merits extended no further, even these, in our estimation, would give it special claims to patronage. To students of the Bible, whether as ministers or private Christians, such numerous references form an aid which none can justly value who have not made trial of them. But added to these, there are notes, reflections, and questions, designed as aids to the reader, brief, intelligent, pertinent and practical. The chronological order is carefully indicated, following Dr. Townsend; the metrical portions are distinguished; and improved divisions of the chapters are introduced. Besides all these features, the work has a peculiarity which, to many in these times will specially recommend it. In addition to the received text, it contains improved readings, wherein, in the judgment of Mr. Cobbin, the translation might be made better. These readings, while to a certain extent aiding as explanatory of the sense, indicate by a ready comparison just about how much would be gained and how much lost by a revision of the common version of the Scriptures, and thus bring that question to a practical test. The work contains likewise a vast number of illustrative cuts, inserted not for the idle purpose of decoration, but to make apparent the sense. These are generally pictures of noted places, or of manners or rites. The author of the work has recently rested from his earthly labors. Cut off from pulpit services in early life, he devoted the remainder of his career, extended through thirty years, to Biblical studies, and to the production of commentaries and other works illustrative of the Scriptures. The work before us embodies the results of these long continued labors. The allusions to the personal character of Mr. Cobbin which we have seen, speak of him as a man of devoted piety as well as of large Biblical attainments. Mr. Hueston has performed an acceptable service in reproducing in this country this elegant and valuable work, and we shall be glad if our commendation directs to it the attention and patronage of our readers.

*Struggles and Triumphs of Religious Liberty: An Historical Survey of Controversies pertaining to the Rights of Conscience, from the English Reformation to the Settlement of New-England.* By EDWARD B. UNDERHILL, Esq., London. With an Introduction by SEWALL S. CUTTING. New-York: Lewis Colby. 1851. 12mo, pp. 242

This volume is a valuable contribution to the annals of religious freedom. It is composed of a series of papers prepared by Mr. Underhill, the Secretary of the Hanserd Knollys Society, as introductions to the successive volumes which that Society has given to the public, all of which relate to the same general subject. They are now for the first

time separated from the volumes to which they belong, and published together in this country for the purpose of illustrating a truth which is often strangely overlooked even by intelligent readers of history, viz.: that the early struggles of religious freedom in Massachusetts were not begun here, but were inherited from a former age and imported from the Old World. In this volume these struggles are traced back as far as the reign of Henry VIII., and their progress is recorded down to the period of the settlement of New-England. It is shown that through all this period the Baptists of England invariably maintained the independency of the church and the civil power, and the responsibility of every man in matters of religion to God alone, among the most cherished articles in their Confessions of Faith. They defended it in their writings, they embodied it in all their organizations, and they transmitted it to other ages as an inheritance of priceless importance, till at length the doctrine was for the first time incorporated into a colony in America, from which it is now making its triumphal progress to the four quarters of the globe. In the Introduction which Mr. Cutting has prefixed to the volume, the progress of the perpetual struggle, through which religious freedom has won its way to its present vantage-ground, is admirably delineated, and the questions which are involved in that struggle are presented with a clearness and power which no intelligent reader will fail to appreciate. The volume goes very strongly to prove what we have always attempted to maintain, that the Baptists, hated and despised as they long were—maligned and traduced as even now they sometimes are—have always contended for the unchartered and inalienable freedom of the human soul, and that whatever else they have failed to do, they have invariably, at all times, and in all places, appealed to the Scriptures as containing the only law that can bind the conscience in any matters of faith or worship. This is a distinction which we believe can be awarded to no other portion of the Christian church, and it is one which we delight to connect with the still neglected memories of the ancient fathers of our denomination.

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*The Life and Times of John Calvin, the Great Reformer.* Translated from the German of PAUL HENRY, D.D., Minister and Seminary Inspector in Berlin, by HENRY STEBBING, D.D., F.R.S., &c. &c. In two volumes. Vol. I. New-York: Robert Carter & Brothers. 1851. 8vo, pp. 519.

The original work of Dr. Henry was published at Hamburg, in three volumes, in 1835–1844, and the translation of Dr. Stebbing appeared in England in two volumes in 1839. Some of the notes and references which were appended by the author to the German edition are understood to have been omitted by the English translator. The work, however, is a vast magazine of facts and views respecting the life, times, and doctrines of the great Genevan Reformer, and we welcome its reprint in the United States, by Messrs. Carter, with unusual pleasure. As a biographer, the German author cannot be said to possess a very high order of skill either in the selection or the arrangement and grouping of his incidents; and as a writer of English Dr. Stebbing falls far below the standard by which we would naturally measure one who has been so long practised in historical composition. But after all the drawbacks which are implied in criticisms like these, the volume already published is quite sufficient to establish the great merits of the work as an illustration and exposition of the life and views of Calvin. The briefer and more recent life by Mr. Dyer has been generally thought to be harsh and unjust in its judgments of his character, and we are not sure but the present work may be deemed by



some as verging towards the opposite extreme. Yet we think all who read it will be satisfied that it contains the materials—not always, indeed, very thoroughly digested and arranged—for a full and complete judgment alike of the deeds and the doctrines of John Calvin. It is a work which should find a place in every theological library, and we are happy to learn that its cost does not place it beyond the reach of most theological scholars.

*Annals of the Famine in Ireland*, in 1847, 1848, and 1849. By MRS. A. NICHOLSON. New-York: E. French. 12 mo, pp. 336.

Near thirty years ago, the author of this volume was the teacher of a school for lads and misses, in a quiet village, embosomed among mountains in the northern part of the State of New-York. We were but a child then, but we well remember those qualities in her character which have of late been developed in her remarkable mission among the suffering Irish. She is a lady of talents and cultivation, of high Christian purposes and abundant energy, of great shrewdness and a close observer of the world; but eccentric withal, and a little impatient that society will not be reformed as rapidly as she desires. After a residence of several years in this city, where she was well known as the keeper of a "Vegetarian" boarding-house, she was seized with the idea that she must trace the stream of Irish immigration to its source; why, she knew not, but for some reason she must go; and so she travelled over Ireland, sometimes on foot, sometimes in peasants' cars, and sometimes in the public coach; sometimes with money, and then, when her remittances failed her, quite without; lodging sometimes in hovels and at others in castles; sometimes welcomed and sometimes spurned. She fed the poor; she read the Scriptures and sung Christian hymns to companies of peasants who understood religion only through the mysterious forms of the Catholic Church; she studied the people; she fathomed their miseries, and wrote a book, entitled "Ireland's Welcome to the Stranger." Those were the days when the famine was approaching. The famine came, and with it claims enough for ministrations of mercy. This new misery, this deeper depth of woe, she sounded. Amid want, horrible want and death, she made her way—the almoner of the charities of the merciful, and draining too her own purse—feeding the starving, teaching the miserable people how to husband and how to use their narrow supplies, and comforting sorrowing souls with the solaces of Christian instruction. "The Famine in Ireland" is a record of those dreadful times, and will be read with melancholy interest. Its representations may be received with confidence.

*First Impressions of England and its People*. By HUGH MILLER, author of "Footprints of the Creator," &c. &c. Boston: Gould & Lincoln. 1851.

This is the third of the delightful works of this great Scottish geologist which Messrs. Gould & Lincoln have recently given to the public, and to the unscientific reader it will undoubtedly prove the most attractive and readable of all. It is a simple and exceedingly natural record of the incidents of the author's first extended journey in England, in the autumn of 1845, in the course of which he visited the places, alike in town and country, which are famous either by the historic or the personal associations connected with them, and also many spots interesting to the man of science. The whole condition of England—the subject of so much speculation and anxiety—passes in review before him. Its government and its religion—the Established Church and the several bodies of the Dissenters

—its education in schools and universities—its science and literature—its people as they live alike in cottages or in castles, are all subjected to the inspection of one who knows well how to sympathize with all the fortunes both of man and of society, and who has a ready eye for the peculiarities of both. The author maintains his character as a man of science, and mingles with his narrative a large amount of rich and varied instruction respecting the condition and progress of the sciences in which he is especially interested. The volume is printed in the best style of Messrs. Gould & Lincoln's press, and has for a frontispiece a well-executed head of the illustrious Scotchman.

*The Course of Creation.* By JOHN ANDERSON, D.D. With a Glossary of Scientific Terms. Cincinnati: W. H. Moore & Co. 1851. 12mo, pp. 384.

This valuable contribution to the science of geology and its bearings upon theology, appears to be the fruit of such leisure as an active and well-employed clergyman has been able to glean from his more pressing duties, for the cultivation of his favorite branch of knowledge. The work is divided into four parts, of which the first treats of the geology of Scotland; the second of that of England, with several comparisons, both in this and the preceding, with that of the United States; the third of the geology of France and Switzerland, and the fourth of certain general principles of the science, in the course of which the author discusses the theory contained in the "Vestiges of Creation," and shows how the Mosaic records are to be harmonized with the discoveries of geological science. The work is evidently the product of an earnest and well-informed mind.

*Life of Algernon Sidney; with Sketches of some of his Contemporaries, and Extracts from his Correspondence and Political Writings.* By G. VAN SANTVOORD. New-York: Charles Scribner. 1851. 12mo, pp. 334.

The name of Sidney has always been cherished by the American people, and we are happy to find that one of our countrymen has prepared this fitting tribute to his life and character, and his illustrious services in the cause of English freedom. The story of his life is plainly though clearly told, as it runs on through that most troubled and contentious period which lies between 1622, the date of his birth, in the reign of James I., to 1683, when he was beheaded on Tower Hill, according to the sentence of Judge Jeffries, in the reign of Charles II. It deserves to be welcomed as an interesting addition to our means of understanding and appreciating the character of one of the purest patriots who adorned a corrupt and shameless age.

*A Memoir of the Rev. Henry Watson Fox, B.A., Missionary to the Teloo-goo People, South India.* By Rev. GEORGE T. FOX. With an Introductory Essay by Rev. C. P. M'ILVAINE, D.D., Bishop of Ohio. New-York: Robert Carter & Brothers. 1851.

This is an interesting memoir of one of those lofty and magnanimous spirits whose memory is always green in the hearts of those who knew them. Henry W. Fox was a missionary of the English Church Missionary Society among the Teloo-goo, and began to reside at Madras in 1840. Before five years had passed away, his constitution had yielded to the inroads of an Indian climate, and he was obliged to return to England,

where he spent nearly a year in awakening a missionary spirit, especially at the Universities, and at length went back, with renovated health, to the distant field of his chosen labors. But his constitution was too much impaired, and he was soon again compelled to relinquish his post and seek an asylum in his native country. After a brief period of employment in the service of the Missionary Society at home, he died at Durham, the residence of his brother and biographer, in the autumn of 1848, at the early age of 32. The work is introduced to the American public in an earnest preface, breathing a warm and devoted Christian spirit, from the pen of Bishop M'Ilvaine, of Ohio.

*A Treatise on Political Economy.* By GEORGE OPDYKE. New-York: Published for the Proprietor, by G. P. Putnam. 1851. Pp. 339.

The author's aspiration has been, in the preparation of this little treatise on a most important and interesting science, to present in a brief outline a view of Political Economy suited to the condition and progress of our own country. The views which he presents, though not all of them novel, are certainly deserving the attention of the thoughtful reader. His general exposition of the nature and objects of the science is clear and correct; he favors the doctrine of free trade as the true policy of the United States, and develops some peculiar views respecting the functions of money, and the laws which should regulate its use as a medium of exchange. The treatise is enriched with many interesting and striking facts, and is pervaded by a general fund of good sense, which, in speculations of this kind, is of inestimable value.

MR. GEORGE P. PUTNAM has issued *A Commentary on Ecclesiastes*. By MOSES STUART.—In the earlier part of his professional labors, Professor Stuart abandoned the attempt to lecture on this book, assigning to his students as the cause, that he was not satisfied that he understood it. In later years, however, he has resumed the study of it, and, as he believes, has conquered the difficulties. In this volume we have the results of his investigations and reflections, with the processes through which he has reached them. "With all the alleged and seeming skepticism of the book, it becomes," he says, "clear as the sun, that the writer, after revolving all the difficulties in his mind, comes out from them with a lofty tone of morality, with an unshaken confidence in future judgment and retribution, and with high, adoring, submissive confidence in God, and in his wisdom, goodness, and power. FEAR GOD AND KEEP HIS COMMANDMENTS, is the final, the grand result of all." 12mo, pp. 300.—*Para, or Scenes and Adventures on the Banks of the Amazon*. By JOHN ESAIAS WARREN. There is no region of the earth less known or more luxuriant and beautiful than that which is drained by the Amazon. Readers who are unfamiliar with the few books which describe it, will welcome these fresh pages of a recent traveller. 12mo, pp. 272.—*Travels in America. The Poetry of Pope*. Two lectures delivered to the Leeds Mechanics' Institute and Literary Society, Dec. 5th and 6th, 1850. By the Right Honorable, the Earl of Carlisle. These Lectures are here presented in an extremely beautiful edition. Though they will fail to raise the estimate of Lord Carlisle's intellectual powers, the first of them will be certain to win respect for his candor, his good sense and liberal feeling. We only regret that he has not written more, and more elaborately. 12mo, pp. 135.—*Trenton Falls, Picturesque and Descriptive*. Edited by N. P. WILLIS. A beautiful guide-book, a gem indeed in its way, which will certainly call travellers to the Falls, and add vastly to their pleasure while



there.—*The Alhambra*. This is the fifteenth volume of the revised edition of Washington Irving's Works,—a charming production, which has a fitting place in the immortal series.—*The Pioneers*, the fourth volume of Mr. Cooper's Leather Stocking Tales.

THE AMERICAN BAPTIST PUBLICATION SOCIETY has issued another 12mo volume from the writings of Bunyan, under the general title *Bunyan's Devotional Works*. It contains five distinct treatises, entitled respectively, *The Spirit of Prayer*, *The Saint's Privilege and Profit*, *The Desire of the Righteous Granted*, *The Unsearchable Riches of Christ*, and *Paul's Departure and Crown*. The volume appears under the supervision of the Editorial Secretary of the Society, the Rev. John Newton Brown, whose labor seems to have been performed with discrimination and care. Mr. Brown thinks that only the first of the treatises here named has appeared in an American edition, and the present combination of them is entirely new. Happy the Christian whose heart is in sympathy with their spirit.—From the same Society we have several small publications, of uniform size, intended for general circulation. They are, *Seven Letters to the Society of Friends*, on the Perpetuity, Subjects and Mode of Baptism, by R. Pengilly; *The Primitive Churchman*, or Reasons why I am not an Episcopalian; *The Power of the Cross*, by R. Fuller, D.D.; and *The Primitive Rule of Giving for Benevolent Purposes*, by J. R. Scott.—We are glad to know that the Society is in a prosperous condition.

MR. CHARLES SCRIBNER has published *The Fruit Garden*, a practical work, by a practical man, intended to explain and illustrate the physiology of fruit trees, and the whole process of rearing and cultivating them. The work was written by Mr. P. Barry, of the Mount Hope Nurseries, Rochester, N. Y.

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#### ART. IX.—INTELLIGENCE.

ONE of the most important Biblical announcements of the season has recently been made in this city. The Rev. Thomas J. Conant, D.D., Professor of Biblical Literature in the University of Rochester, is engaged in making a new translation of the Holy Scriptures into English, to be accompanied with brief explanatory notes. Though based upon the older translations, it is, as we are informed, to be an independent work. It will preserve, as far as practicable, the language found in those wells of undefiled English, but will endeavor to engraft upon it the results of later scholarship. We understand that its aim will be not only to aid a critical study of the Scriptures, but to make the meaning more apparent to every class of minds. The enterprise is a private one, the sole parties to it being Dr. Conant and his publisher, Mr. Lewis Colby, of this city. The work will appear in parts, the first of which will be issued in the ensuing autumn or winter. It will form, when completed, a large royal octavo volume. The project has been long in the mind of Dr. Conant, and his preparations for the work have been accumulating through many years. We certainly wish him the largest success.

Among the forthcoming publications of Mr. Charles Scribner, are *The Epoch of Creation*, by Eleazer Lord, in which "the Scripture Doctrine" is to be "contrasted with the Geological Theory;" *Essays on the Primitive Church Officers*, reprinted from the Princeton Review; *Rural Homes*, containing sketches of houses suited to American country life, with designs, by G. Wheeler; *The Captains of the Old World*, by Henry W. Herbert; *Naval Life*, by Lieut. Lynch; *The Fall of Poland*,

containing a history of the nation, with the causes of its overthrow, by L. C. Saxton; *The Old Guard*, by J. T. Headley. Mr. S. will likewise issue for Gift Books, *Watching Spirits*, by Mrs. Ellet, and the *Evening Book*, by Mrs. Kirkland. These books will be elegantly illustrated. The popular books of Ik. Marvel remain in great demand, and new editions have been issued. A new work by the same author is in preparation.

Messrs. Carter & Brothers are now issuing a new edition of the complete works of Dr. JOHN OWEN, in sixteen octavo volumes, each volume containing upwards of six hundred pages. The printing is executed with great care on fine linen paper, and the work is furnished to those who subscribe at the very low price of five dollars for four volumes, making the entire set cost only TWENTY DOLLARS. Four volumes are now ready for delivery. We trust the enterprise of these publishers in thus re-publishing the complete works of the greatest of the English theologians, will be remunerated by a large sale. They are also about to publish a Commentary on Leviticus, by Rev. ANDREW BONARS, in one volume, 8vo, and a Collection of Prayers for daily Family Worship, morning and evening, prepared by one hundred and eighty clergymen of the Church of Scotland. The work is designed to be an assistant in the devotions of the family. They have also in preparation an octavo volume containing the Lectures recently delivered before the University of Virginia on the Evidences of Revelation, by several eminent American divines.

Mr. WM. F. POOLE, of Danvers, Mass., is preparing an index to subjects treated in the principal Reviews and Periodicals in the English language. Its publication, which we understand has been retarded by an untoward accident, may be looked for early in the ensuing fall. Mr. Poole published in 1848 an Index of a similar character, though on a smaller scale, for the Library of the Brothers in Unity, Yale College. This work has been in great demand, and has rendered good service to writers and students, by rendering available as books for reference several hundred volumes of standard periodicals, which, from the want of proper indexes, have hitherto been comparatively useless.

THE OXFORD UNIVERSITY comprises twenty Colleges and five Halls, most of which possess valuable Libraries of their own. Of these the celebrated Bodleian Library, which is the University Library proper, alone issues catalogues of all its MSS. Mr. Coxe, therefore, the Assistant Librarian, has taken upon himself the tedious labor of registering the MSS. in the different College Libraries, and has already finished a large quarto volume in which three thousand titles are recorded, and to which the Index only is wanting. This volume when published will form a valuable addition to our bibliographical works. The catalogue of the printed books in the Bodleian Library, which is considered to be one of the very best of its kind, comprises three folio volumes, published in 1843; and a supplement, folio, published recently.

In Germany 746 newspapers are published, of which 646 are printed in German, 5 in French, 1 in English, 15 in Polish, 3 in Wendish, (the Wendes are a Slavonic people in the midst of Germany,) 7 in the Lithuanian language. In all Europe, according to *official statements*, 1356 newspapers are published, of which 169 are issued at Paris, 97 at London, 79 at Berlin, 68 at Leipsig, 36 at Petersburg, 24 at Vienna.

Of the most prominent Paris papers, the *Constitutionnel* has a list of 30,000 subscribers, the *Presse* 24,000, the *Patrie* 14,000, the *Journal des Debats* 11,000, the *National* 5,000. The circulation of the latter paper is generally believed to be larger than it really is.

In Holland the number of periodicals is very great, there being no less than 125 monthlies, and 14 weeklies.

UNITED STATES EXPLORING EXPEDITION.—The volume on Conchology, by Dr. Gould, is in press, and most of the beautiful folio plates are finished. The preparation of the volume on Fishes has been committed to the distinguished Agassiz. The unrivalled plates which are to accompany it are mostly finished, under the

superintendence of Mr. Drayton. The volume on Ferns, by Mr. Brakenridge, one of the Botanists of the Expedition, is ready for the press; as is also the folio Atlas of illustrations.

SMITHSONIAN CONTRIBUTIONS TO SCIENCE.—The second volume will soon appear. Several of the articles have already been distributed in a separate form, in accordance with the plan of the Institution, which is to diffuse knowledge as widely and as rapidly as possible.

## GERMANY.

CORRESPONDENCE OF THE CHRISTIAN REVIEW.

*Berlin, May 19th, 1851.*

THE first and principal source of information respecting new books, in Germany, is the Messkatalog. This is prepared more especially for booksellers, and contains simply the titles and the prices of all the new publications in this country. This catalogue began to be regularly published in the sixteenth century. The Literarisches Centralblatt, in speaking of it, says: "In the Messkatalog we possess an index at once comprehensive and definite of the various tendencies and changes in the literary life of our people, for nearly three centuries. No nation can show any thing which is to be compared with it." The last number contains a list of the books which have appeared during the last half-year, (between Michaelmas, 1850, and Easter, 1851.) It is a closely printed book in large octavo of three hundred pages! It must not be supposed that I have read this book through, for the purpose of preparing a few paragraphs of literary intelligence. By the aid of certain classifications one can readily ascertain what books have appeared on any given subject, and of this aid I have availed myself.

The Literarisches Centralblatt, to which I am indebted for much information, is a valuable weekly periodical which was commenced about six months ago. It is published by Dr. Fr. Zarnke, in Leipsic, and has the same object as the London Athenaeum and the New-York Literary World. It sustains a high character for criticism, and is indispensable to every public library.

Among the new books which have lately appeared in Germany, we deem the following worthy of particular notice:—

Die Staatshaushaltung der Athener. A. Boeckh, Berlin, 1851. This new edition of the economy of the Athenian State is greatly enlarged, and contains the results of the investigations of Boeckh, and of the best philologists upon this subject, for the last several years. The work is indispensable to every one who would form the most complete and just conception of Athenian life. The relations of the several classes of inhabitants in Attica to one another, the mode of transferring property among the Athenians, their current prices for a great variety of articles, and also their revenues, are topics specially worthy of attention, as presented in this book. Many persons will be surprised at the discovery which Boeckh professes to have made, that the treatise on the Athenian State, heretofore printed among the works of Xenophon, was composed by his more talented contemporary Critias.

The Satires of Juvenal, with the readings of the best manuscripts and the old scholia, by Otto Jahn, Leipsic. With respect to the text, this is by far the most critical edition of Juvenal.

Xenophon's Anabasis; a new edition, with a Lexicon, by Krüger. Appian's Anabasis of Alexander, with notes by the same author. Also a new edition of Krüger's Greek Grammar. This is acknowledged to be the best Greek Grammar now in use, in Germany. Krüger has also just published a book entitled Historisch-philologische Studien, in which, among a variety of other articles, are found critical reviews of Buttmann's and Kühner's Greek Grammars.

In the Bibliotheca Teubneriana, printed at Leipsic, have lately appeared an edition of Pindar, by F. G. Schneidewin; Demosthenes, by W. Dindorf; Herodotus, by Dietsch; Thucydides, by J. Boehme; Virgil, by J. C. Jahn; Livy, by N. Weissenborn; Cicero, by R. Klotz. The object of this series of Greek and Latin authors is simply to present the most accurate text, well printed, and at the most moderate



price. If the editions which have already appeared may be taken as a fair specimen of the whole series, it will be far preferable to the Tauchnitz classics, (which have been so extensively used in our country,) both in respect to its critical character and the fairness of the type.

The collection of Greek and Roman authors, with notes in German, published by Weidmann, in Leipsic, (called the Weidmansche Sammlung,) is intended to include the principal Greek and Roman classics, in a convenient form and at a reduced price. In this collection have just appeared Plutarch's Themistocles and Pericles *erklärt* von C. Sintenis; Cicero's Orator *erklärt*, von Otto Jahn; Virgil's Gedichte, von Th. Ladewig; *Ausgewählte Reden des Demosthenes*, (Rede vom Kranze, Rede gegen Leptines,) von Ant. Westermann. The names of Haupt and Sauppe, who superintend the work, are a sufficient guarantee for its excellence.

A new edition of the Brockhaus Conversations Lexicon has recently been commenced, and is progressing as rapidly as the nature of the work will admit.—The Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Alterthumswissenschaft, by Pauly, published at Stuttgart, is nearly completed. (It is carried already as far as Tullii.) This is a work of much value to the philologist.

Briefe (antiquarische) von Boeckh, Loebell, Panofka, Raumer and Ritter, herausgegeben von Raumer. The main tendency of this book, as might be inferred from the name of the editor, who is also the principal writer, is to free principles both in politics and religion. It is nevertheless worthy of perusal, as presenting the opinions of several distinguished men on a variety of important topics connected with the ancient world.

The Phœnicians, by Dr. F. C. Movers, Professor in the Breslau University. In this book one will find many things which are new in respect to that interesting nation of antiquity.

Lehrbuch d. griech. Antiquitäten, von Dr. K. F. Hermann, III. Theil. This third part of Hermann's Grecian Antiquities treats of the private life of the Greeks. It is a book of the highest character for ripe and critical scholarship.

A new and improved edition of Kiepert's Atlas of Ancient Greece. This is beyond all question the best work of the kind. It is gratifying to see that the author has acknowledged in his preface the invaluable services of Col. Leake.

Die schönsten Ornamente u. merkwürdigsten Gemälde aus Pompeji, Herculaneum u. Stabiae, nebst einigen Grundrissen u. Ansichten, von W. Zahn, Berlin. There are two editions of this work, one of which is prepared at much expense and is quite elegant.

Basreliefe u. geschnittene Steine, *erklärt* von F. G. Welcker, II. Th. This is a book of most critical character and of great value, both to the antiquarian and to the philologist.

Anmerkungen zur Ilias, nebst einigen Excursen, von Dr. C. Fr. Nägelsbach, Professor zu Erlangen. This is a new edition, enlarged and improved. The 4th Excursus is upon that inexhaustible subject of dispute, "the Homeric question." Dr. N. argues that the Iliad was composed by a single author, and opposes the views of Lachmann, Hoffmann, Curtius and Köchly.

A great number of political books have appeared in Germany within the last few months. Most of these books are in their tendency *reactionary*, as the Germans now express themselves to denote every thing which favors a return to the former strict monarchical system of government. Of much more value, and perhaps equal in number, are the scientific works which have been published during the same time. My space will not allow me to attempt any enumeration of these latter. I have observed with interest advertisements of the following American books, as having been recently translated into German,—a sign that America is beginning to give back something to a land from which she has received so much that is valuable: Ticknor's History of Spanish Literature; United States Exploring Expedition, by Com. Wilkes; Channing's works; Elements of Zoology, by Agassiz and Gould; Emerson's Arithmetic! This latter book is entitled Nordamerikanisches Elementar-Rechenbuch, and is printed at Halle.

Of the recent theological works, I may also mention one or two whose character has struck me as being a little remarkable.

Wissenschaftlichkeit d. modernen speculativen Theologie in ihren Principien, von C. A. Thilo. This work is rather a criticism of the theological opinions of Schleier-

macher, Rothe and Müller, and the chief aim of the writer is to show that the tendency of the modern theology is to pantheism and atheism.

Gedanken über die Unsterblichkeit als Wiederholung des Erdenlebens, von Dr. Gust. Widenmann, Wien. This writer, says the Lit. Centralblatt, has adopted and presented anew the doctrine of Lessing, Schlosser, Jean Paul and Drossbach, that man, after his departure to the other world, having remained a greater or less period, returns again to this life on the earth, that he may by successive stages and repeated probations pass through the different grades of development in this mortal existence, for which a single life-time is not adequate! The critic who notices the work does not think that the author has succeeded in placing his doctrine beyond a doubt!

Das Wesen des Protestantismus, von Daniel Schenkel, Dr. Theol. Prof. zu Basel. This is spoken of as being an able book. The whole work is directed against the error that the Protestantism of the Reformation is a complete system, so that the only duty of the Christian world at the present day is to preserve that platform unimpaired.

Among the most interesting books advertised as being in press, I have noticed the following:—History of our own Times, from the year 1837 to the present: by Dr. A. Schmidt, Professor of History in the University of Berlin. This work will appear as a continuation of K. F. Becker's well-known general history.—Bernhardy's Outline of Grecian Literature, with a collateral view of Roman Literature. Braun's Panorama of Rome in nine copperplate engravings; and by the same, The Ruins of Rome, seven plates royal fol.—The Peloponnesus with maps and plans, 2 vols., by Professor C. Curtius.—The Twenty-first and Twenty-second Books of Livy, by Drs. E. N. Faber and Heerwagen, 2nd ed. Nuremberg.—A new and complete edition of Plato, in 6 vols., by Professor Hermann, of Göttingen.—A new edition of Suidas' Lexicon, by Professor Bernhardy, Halle.—A Lexicon of the Latin Language, in 3 vols., by R. Klotz. In this work the best Latin scholars in Germany, anticipate something very valuable. It promises, as they say, to supply a deficiency of which they now seriously complain.—A new edition of Passow's Lexicon, by Rost, Palm and Creussler.—As additions to the Weidmansche Sammlung, Tacitus, by K. Nipperdev. Sophocles (Edipus Rex and Œd. in Col.) by F. W. Schneidewin.

The following items of general intelligence may not improperly be introduced here:—

The three distinguished Professors of Philology at Leipsic, Haupt, Mommsen and Jahn have just been dismissed by order of the government, the cause being, their alleged connection with some popular movement about ten months ago. Although the matter was then brought before a court of justice, and proof of the accusation was wanting, still the government of Saxony remained dissatisfied, till at length it resorted to this summary proceeding.

Within a few weeks the University of Jena has suffered a great loss in the death of F. G. Hand, Professor of the Grecian Literature. The University of Berlin has also been recently deprived of one of its ablest men, by the death of C. Lachmann, Professor of the Roman and of the old German Literature. I have heard it suggested that after a suitable lapse of time, Professor Haupt will probably be called to Berlin to take the place of Lachmann.—Professor Lehnert, late of the University of Königsberg, has been appointed to the place made vacant by the death of Neander, and has already entered upon the duties of his office.

We copy the following from the National Zeitung:—The number of students during the last Semestre in all of the German Universities, with the exception of those in Königsberg, Kiel and Rostock, whose statistics have not been published, amounts to 11,945. In respect to number of students, the Universities assume the following order: Berlin, Munich, Bonn, Leipsic, Breslau, Tübingen, Göttingen, Würzburg, Halle, Heidelberg, Giessen, Erlangen, Freiburg, Jena, Marburg, Greifswald. Berlin had 2,107, including the unmatriculated, who were entitled to attend the lectures; Greifswald 189 students. The law students in the Universities, collectively, were the most numerous, amounting to 3,973. The number of students in Theology was 2,539; in Philosophy and Philology, 2,357; in Medicine, 2,146; in Political Economy, 549. In proportion to the whole, the largest number of theological students was in Halle,—330 out of 597; the largest number of law students in Heidelberg,—349 out of 557; the largest number of medical students in Würzburg,—271 out of 671; the largest number of students in Philosophy in Jena,—132 out of 358.

The largest *absolute* number of theological students was also in Halle; of law students, in Munich, (800;) of Medical students, and likewise of students in Philosophy, in Berlin, (the former being 414, the latter 503.) The Universities of Heidelberg, Göttingen, Jena, Würzburg and Leipsic had the greatest number of foreigners.

J. R. B.

FROM ANOTHER CORRESPONDENT.

HALLE, May 10, 1851.

On account of the political commotions which have disturbed the peace of Germany for the last three years, philosophy has been thrown into the shade. The following are the most valuable works in the several departments of literature which have recently appeared:—The third edition of "Geissler's Bibliographical Handbook of the German Philosophical Literature since the middle of the eighteenth century." (Leipsic, 1850.) It is accompanied by a title-register of books arranged according to subjects. Soon after appeared a new work by Professor Gumpsh, entitled "The Philosophical Literature of the Germans from the Fourteenth Century to the Present Time." The time is divided into three periods, viz.: "Until Leibnitz," "From Leibnitz to Kant," and "From Kant till now." Writers on kindred subjects are grouped together, and short biographical sketches are added. This work contains also historical sketches of all the universities in Germany, with particular reference to teachers of philosophy. Observations are made on all the works on philosophy which have appeared quite up to the present time. The criticisms of the writer are not always to be relied on; still the work exhibits extensive learning, and it supplies a desideratum which has long been acknowledged to exist; and it is the only work which in itself furnishes the means for an extensive study of every branch of philosophy. The sixth and concluding volume of Erdman's History of Philosophy is soon to be published. To each volume of this work are appended a large number of quotations from foreign authors, particularly from the French and English. In richness of materials and in completeness of elaboration no other work is worthy of comparison with this. Professor Galybäus, who is favorably known as the author of a History of the Nach-Kantischen Philosophie, has published his system of ethics in two volumes. His work inculcates correct religious sentiments, and the writer gives proof of possessing a reflective, well-balanced, and discriminating mind. The freshness and vigor of the style make the reading of these books an agreeable task. Of the editions of old philosophical works Bonitz's Recension of the Metaphysics of Aristotle deserves particular notice. This edition is far superior to that of Schwartzler; notes and explanations in Latin are given upon every part of the original text.

In theology, a subject which excites great interest at the present time, a large number of pamphlets on questions relating to church government have recently appeared, though works of this latter kind have not excluded those of a more scientific character. Professor Tholuck has recently put forth a new edition of his Commentary on the Hebrews, accompanied by supplements; the whole having undergone a thorough revision, this justly celebrated work is rendered still more valuable. Two parts of Hengstenberg's Interpretations of the Apocalypse, "designed for popular use," have already appeared, but the concluding part is still wanting.

The first part of Liebnow's Treatise of the Grand Principles of Christology has just been published and is a valuable addition to Dogmatic Theology. Professor Lange of Zurich, known as the author of a "Life of Jesus," has given to the world a "Speculative Dogmatick," which has been received with no small degree of disapprobation by the systematic theologians of the stricter sort, notwithstanding the ability and the luminousness of argument which characterize certain portions of his book. The "Philosophy of Religion," by Professor Hanke, of Marburg, gives a concise view of all the different religions, together with an introductory essay on the "Relation of Faith to Knowledge." The flowing style and the vividness of the representations add much to the interest with which one reads this book. Professor Jacobi of Berlin, formerly a pupil of Neander, will soon publish the second and concluding volume of his excellent Compendium of Church History. The complete Lectures of Neander are soon to appear in 15 vols. They will be edited by Professor Julius Müller of Halle. The Interpretation of the Gospel of